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Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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International Affairs

U.S. Seen Searching for New Policy Toward Country

92AS0378E Lahore *THE NATION in English*
17 Nov 91 p 6

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "U.S. Still Gropes for a Pakistan Policy"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] While officially Pakistan remains on the "black list" of those countries which are being downgraded in the American agenda, or occasionally even demonised in the media, Pakistan remains very much in the news here. Reference to the Pakistani nuclear programme and the BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] as a "Pakistani bank" apart, there is the fact of Pakistan being located in a region that is just too vital for the United States to ignore. Even during the visit of US Secretary of State James Baker to China, the first high-level American visitor to Beijing since 1989, one stated purpose of that journey was to discuss the Chinese military relationship with Muslim countries like Pakistan, Iran and Algeria.

There are two pointers to Pakistan's continuing strategic importance in a region vital to Washington policymakers, a region which begins at Israel and goes through to India. First, this is an area in which there has been much talk of the American conception of a "New World Order" in the aftermath of the Gulf war, particularly the American inability to direct events according to the dictates of Washington or to diffuse longstanding tensions. Compounding this discomfort in Washington regarding the region in which Pakistan is a key strategic player along with Iran and China, all three countries which incidentally share close interests, is the added concern regarding the emergence of Islamic Central Asia, particularly the prospect of Kazakhstan becoming the possessor of the world's 'Islamic Bomb'. The United States is apparently unsure on how to handle this region, including countries like Pakistan and its policy fluctuates between carrot and stick approach.

This is reflected in recent American dealings with, say, China and Pakistan. While China has been accused of human rights violations by the United States, James Baker decided to visit that country despite stiff Congressional opposition in a gesture meant to signal to China that the United States understood its importance as a key Asian country which cannot be ignored. In any case, key American allies like the Prime Ministers of Japan, Britain and Italy, already had been trooping into Beijing since last August mending fences with the Chinese. But on the eve of the Baker visit, *THE NEW YORK TIMES* thought it fit to print an op-Ed piece in its issue of November 13 by its prominent columnist on national security Affairs, Leslie Gelb. In that column which was entitled "Breaking China Apart," Gelb analysed a recent reference to China by James Baker in his article in the influential American quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*, saying

that the "Bush Administration might actually encourage separatism if China remains an outlaw state" ominously adding that the United States "May take extraordinary measures including kindling separatism" in China. Among the sins of China recounted by *THE NEW YORK TIMES* were its alleged human rights violations, "unfair" trade practices, its missile sales (to Pakistan) and transfer for nuclear technology to Muslim countries like Iran and Algeria.

Regarding Pakistan, although the United States is still groping for a well-defined and consistent policy, Washington's ad hoc approach to Islamabad reflects a triangular approach of pressurising China to cause a cleavage in the Pakistan-China relationship, blackmailing Pakistan by flirtation with India and directly bullying Pakistan through threats of slapping onto Pakistan an American law that prohibits interaction with a country engaged in fomenting terrorism abroad. Currently, countries like Iran, Libya and Syria are listed as states allegedly sponsoring terrorism.

According to informed sources in the American capital, the US Under-Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Reginald Bartholomew, who will be visiting Pakistan later this week, will be coming with basically a two-point agenda. First, to test the Pakistan resolve on the nuclear issue, whether Pakistan is willing to relent on the American demand that Pakistan "roll back" its nuclear programme since rollback is today the centerpiece of America's nuclear policy towards Pakistan. Although this is the stated position, there are indications that the United States will be content with the status quo on the nuclear issue which means that neither a rollback nor any enhancement of Pakistani capability. The other point in the Bartholomew agenda is basically to deliver a deadline to Pakistan to reverse its Kashmir policy, with the added proviso that if Pakistan does not reverse its Kashmir policy by Spring 1992, then the United States will take the somewhat extreme measure of placing Pakistan on the list of those countries who are aiding and abetting terrorism abroad. In effect, the United States seems to be concurring with the Indian views of the Pakistani role in Kashmir rather than accepting the Pakistani perspective on Kashmir that seeks self-determination in that occupied territory under UN auspices.

The regional aspects of Pakistan's role apart, the other area which provides for continuing American interest in Pakistan is, naturally enough, the nuclear issue. There seems to be some new thinking emerging on this question as was evident in a recent, high-powered conference on the global, regional and national aspects of the nuclear issue which was convened in the Washington area during November 11-14. The conference, organised by the Centre for National Security Negotiations (CNSN), was titled "Containing Nuclear Proliferation: Contingency Planning for Challenges Ahead." The conference was attended by representatives from India (former Chief of the Army Staff General K. Sundarji),

Israel, the Soviet Union, Britain, Egypt, Japan, Germany, Italy, France, the United States and Pakistan. The apparent purpose of the conference was to seek ideas to formulate a Proliferation Containment Strategy.

The conference, the first of its kind held after the Gulf war, was important because it included the leading American specialists on the nuclear issue as well as representatives of the US national security bureaucracy.

Apart from pressure on Pakistan on the nuclear issue and the general problem of "handling" the complicated region in which Pakistan is located, there is much talk of Indo-American military cooperation although there is little of substance to show in this regard since the visit of the Indian Army Chief last August.

Two specific steps in the direction of a closer linkage between the armies of India and the United States are the first visit to India by a Commander-in-Chief of the US Central Command (CENTCOM) and the five-fold increase in the number of Indian military officers who are undergoing training in US military institutions, from about 20 in the past to approximately 100 now. However, the Americans seem to be cautiously moving on this course since they are not willing to pull all their South Asian eggs in the Indian basket since India is also seen as a problem country which is short of cash and friends as well, following the collapse of its role as the Soviet Union's best friend in the Third World. The Americans are also taking pains to emphasise that it is India which has taken the initiative to forge this military connection and it is India that has been pushing for it in recent months.

Given this context, while pressures on Pakistan will continue, Pakistani policy-makers should realise that they still have several cards in their hands and they should focus their priorities on setting the internal house in order and maintaining a political spine on issues such as the Pakistani nuclear programme. In any case, Pakistan should be getting some sort of a breather in terms of time with the upcoming American Presidential elections in November, 1992. With an economy which is in doldrums and a foreign policy success that is wearing thin with the American electorate, within a couple of days there were two pieces of bad news for candidate Bush.

First, a prominent Conservative columnist, Pat Buchanan, announced that he would be challenging George Bush for the Republican Presidential nomination and in his remarks critical of the American President's policy, Buchanan said that "instead of talking about the New World Order, Bush should be concentrating on problems of America first." And second, there is the publication of a new book by the well-known American Iran specialist, Gary Sick, that accuses George Bush of being the central figure in the so-called "October Surprise" according to which the Republican campaign and George Bush secretly made a deal with the Iranians not to release the American hostages until after the 1980 Presidential

elections so as to ensure the defeat of Jimmy Carter. If such allegations were proven to be correct, these could sound the death knell of the Bush Presidency.

Editorial Hits U.S. on 'Arrogance' of Threats to Libya

92AS0375K Karachi DAWN in English 17 Nov 91 p 7

[Editorial: "After Iraq, Libya?"]

[Text] The news from Washington has a chilling connotation for the Third World. President Bush's national security adviser has been speaking about forging an international alliance to punish Libya for its alleged role in the downing of a Pan Am aircraft over Lockerbie in Scotland in December 1988. As if to temper the effect of the threat with sweet reasonableness, Mr Brent Scowcroft has made it known that before taking military action the United States will seek the extradition of two Libyan agents charged with the bombing. The arrogant approach adopted by the Bush Administration towards Tripoli in this case does not augur well for the Third World countries in the new international order that is emerging.

The Lockerbie incident which took 270 lives was one of the most distressing examples of terrorism in aviation history. It was widely condemned then. Three years later when the injustice that ostensibly provoked the bombing remains unredressed, Lockerbie can still not be condoned. Terrorism can never be justified as a means of achieving political goals, however pressing and legitimate. But that hardly gives a licence to the aggrieved party—rather its government—to retaliate by resorting to violence of a worse kind. This is what American action would amount to if Washington unleashed the same type of punitive air strikes against Libya as it did against Iraq to expel its troops from Kuwait.

The United States has been demanding the extradition of two men it has charged with the blowing-up of the ill-fated Pan Am flight. International law has provided procedures for the law-enforcing machinery of a country to obtain the custody of foreigners suspected of a crime committed within its jurisdiction. If there is an extradition treaty between two states, the process is, of course, simplified. Even in the absence of an agreement, governments are expected to negotiate over such matters and not attempt to browbeat a smaller state into submission.

Any American action against Libya has very serious implications. In the absence of concrete and verifiable evidence, Libya does not accept the charges levelled against two of its citizens. Moreover, given the earlier precedent of America's use of force against Libya in 1986 on the basis of one-sided charges of terrorism against US servicemen in Germany, the Bush Administration will be hard put to it to substantiate its allegations and also the fact that despite clear proof, Libya was unwilling to try the offenders. America's hostility towards President Muammar al-Gadhafi is well-known. Any action of the kind contemplated by the

United States, even if backed by a coalition of forces, would appear to be a case of gunboat diplomacy being practised by superpower as a strategy to impose its will on smaller states.

Coming at a time when Libyan policies are being moderated somewhat, such resort to bullying and browbeating would be unwise. Libya has joined hands with its moderate neighbours to form the Arab Maghreb Union and the decade-old war in Chad has been wound up. Tripoli has also been making overtures to Britain which severed diplomatic relations in 1984 when a British policewoman was killed by a sniper from the Libyan Embassy in London. The Libyan government recently despatched a cheque for £250,000 as compensation for the killing. Any military adventure at this stage can only thwart the trend towards moderation and liberalisation in Libya and elsewhere.

All this carries a grim warning for the Third World. In the absence of a countervailing force in the post-cold war period, the United States can tend to be quite overbearing and self-righteous in asserting its power under the cover of the so-called new world order. The treatment meted out by the coalition forces led by the United States to Iraq for its invasion of Kuwait is an indication of what can be expected if the American diktat is defied. If this is the strategy to be used to humble those who do not accept the US overlordship, the world could be in for some messy business since militant hardliners are there in plenty in the Third World. Naked use military force which results in thousands of innocent deaths is hardly the way to handle these autocrats.

U.S. View of Nonproliferation Seen Biased

92AS0378J Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 18 Nov 91 pp 10-11

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Pakistan and the Nuclear Question"]

[Text] A number of recent developments have revived the debate on Pakistan's nuclear programme, with particular reference to its efficacy as the bastion of national security. These developments include the American aid cut which is linked to pressures emanating from Washington on Pakistan's nuclear programme, the general attempt by the West and the United States to create a regional ambience for arms control in the politically volatile region that begins at Israel and ends at India, and the desire of those in the Pakistani officialdom who are weak-kneed enough to seek a trade-off between the American aid and the nuclear programme.

Within the framework of these pressures, an important fact is lost sight of, namely, that Pakistan's nuclear programme, indigenously conceived and executed, is undoubtedly the country's one-genuine scientific and technological achievement which has managed to inject an element of security for Pakistan by deterring external expression and providing for stability in South Asia

through the establishment of a somewhat matching measure of deterrence in Pakistan-India relations.

Currently, the debate on the nuclear issue centres around whether Pakistan should acquiesce to American pressure by unilaterally signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), even if India refuses to do so. The principal argument cited in support of such a position is that, by doing the needful on the NPT, Pakistan will be providing a "clean chit" of its "peaceful nuclear intentions" and, so the argument goes, Pakistan will manage to once again put itself in America's "good books" and revert to the position of recipient of American largesse, albeit on a much smaller scale since annual American assistance to Pakistan these days is in the vicinity of 300 million dollars.

While these habitual addicts of American aid are willing to barter away national sovereignty and even national security at the altar of a few hundred million dollars, an amount that is virtually "small change" in terms of financial aid that is doled out by the rich to the favoured poor, three central aspects of how damaging such a path would be for Pakistan's national interest are somehow inexplicably and conveniently overlooked. First, leading American think-tanks on the nuclear issue such as the Centre for National Security Negotiations (CNSN) in Washington D.C., which is holding major international conference on the global nuclear question during November 11-14, 1991, in a recent report published on September 10 has clearly termed three countries—Israel, India and Pakistan—as "undeclared nuclear weapon states," for the first time lumping all three in the same category. In effect, as far as Pakistan's nuclear status is concerned, leading American think-tanks are already acknowledging it at par with recognised nuclear states such as India and Israel. Given this acknowledgement, there is no reason for Pakistan to allow itself to be singled out for discrimination at the hands of Washington or its regional bullets like India since Pakistan's endeavour on the nuclear issue all along has been to be treated in a manner and in a policy that is clearly uniform and across the board, not selective or discriminatory.

Second, by falling into the NPT trap as suggested by the United States and its local apologists, Pakistan will be susceptible to even nuclear blackmail from its adversarial neighbours like India, similar to the blackmail of aid from Washington and the brandishing of the sword of overwhelming conventional military superiority by India on frequent occasions. As a prominent American national security specialist, Morton H. Halperin, commented during an article in the October 2, 1991 issue of the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE: "The United States must face and overcome the central contradiction of its nuclear policy: The world's most powerful country needs to threaten to use nuclear weapons first in order to meet its security needs, but other nations most forgo them in the interests of international security. Unless America is prepared to say it need not rely on such threats, it will be unable to persuade countries with

more serious security problems—Israel, Pakistan and Taiwan, for example—that they can forgo nuclear weapons.”

Third, Pakistan should clearly imbibe the lessons from the Gulf war, particularly the manner in which Iraq was targeted. The United States was able to achieve its military goals in the Persian Gulf by overcoming its key vulnerability—fear of its own casualties—through hi-tech devastation and the fact that Iraq had no nuclear deterrent. Had Iraq a nuclear weapons capability, the United States would have thought twice before devastating it. The principal basis of Israeli political and military hegemony in the Middle East stems from its nuclear capability. And during an October 11 interview with *THE NEW YORK TIMES*, the director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Hans Blix, announced new plans to check what he termed as “nuclear cheating” by NPT signatories. Under the plan, which has dangerous implications for countries like Pakistan if they signed the NPT without first flaunting their nuclear card, the IAEA would follow-up any complaint received against a member-state’s nuclear programme by ordering a “spot check” of its nuclear installations, and if that particular country refused such a “spot check,” the IAEA would presume “it has something to hide.” In that case, the IAEA could send the case to the UN Security Council, which could order a compulsory search of the accused country’s nuclear facilities, similar to what Iraq is currently undergoing.

The question of signing the NPT apart, the nuclear issue is one area on which there is a wide degree of popular consensus since it is perceived as perhaps central to the survival of Pakistan as a sovereign state. The nuclear issue needs to be divorced from a couple of aspects which some endeavour to link it with, namely, the form of government in Pakistan (whether military or civilian) and the question of American aid. Both are tactical considerations since the form of government can change and American aid is certainly not going to be a permanent factor of subsistence to Pakistan. Conversely, the nuclear programme has long-term implications for the security of the Pakistani state and its internal political stability. Three aspects of Pakistan’s acquisition of a nuclear weapons capability merit attention.

First, there is the question of command, communication and control of the Pakistani nuclear capability at the operational level. Some foreign critics of the Pakistani nuclear programme have charged that “there is no mechanism to fully control this programme since it is run by the military.” This statement is not borne out by facts. The Pakistani nuclear programme was launched by an elected, civilian prime minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and the three persons entrusted with putting it together in an institutional framework were all senior civilians. They included Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who is now president; Agha Shahi, who served with distinction as foreign minister and Aftab Qazi, who retains his current cabinet position.

Interestingly, while Pakistan is again singled out on this count of the nuclear programme being allegedly under military control, the hard fact is that India and Israel’s own nuclear programme have strong inputs of the military as documented in two interesting recent studies respectively. The architect of the 1974 Indian nuclear explosion, Dr Raja Ramanna mentioned this aspect in his recent memories *Years of Pilgrimage*, while the American investigative journalist, Seymour Hersh, has provided the most informative expose of the Israeli nuclear programme in his book, “*The Sampson Option*.”

The second aspect which would be noteworthy in regards Pakistan’s acquisition of a nuclear capability is the positive impact which this would have on Pakistan’s conventional military strength and the conventional arms race with India. The race in conventional weaponry between Pakistan and India will always hinge upon numbers and Pakistan will always be at a disadvantage given the widening gulf. Nuclear weapons in the case of Pakistan and India would qualitatively alter the military balance and their mutual possession will be enough of a deterrent to either side. By exercising the nuclear option, Pakistan would be simultaneously settling the question of security from India and slotting the role and size of its armed forces. With a nuclear deterrent, Pakistan armed forces could then have a manageable size commensurate with their role of defending the frontiers and there would then be no need to get bogged down in an expensive and unwinnable race for conventional weaponry. Given the consensus among the political forces against any form of political role for the armed forces, such a development would be a step towards political stability in Pakistan.

Finally, in regards to Pakistani nuclear capability, it would also contribute to settling the Pakistan-India military equation in South Asia by allaying Pakistani concerns and preventing any further manifestation of India’s hegemonic aspirations towards Pakistan. It is not surprising that India agreed to an agreement with Pakistan not to attack each other’s nuclear installations in December 1985 only when it had perceived that Pakistan had crossed the threshold in nuclear capability and that Pakistan also had the capability to hit back at Indian nuclear installations, should India threaten a strike against Kahuta.

It is a hard fact that on the two occasions in the last few years that Pakistan and India almost went to war, during “Exercise Brasstacks” in 1987 and the early stages of the Kashmir Uprising in 1990, the only reason that such eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation between the Pakistani and Indian armies did not convert into military conflict was because of the nuclear factor. Otherwise, India would have browbeaten Pakistan into submission by its periodic brandishing of the nuclear sword.

The only reason why India has adamantly and consistently rejected each and every Pakistani proposal on the nuclear issue is that because the feeling in Delhi is that once India agrees to sit across the table to talk to Pakistan, it will, ipso facto, be according a status of

equality and parity to Pakistan, something which India has always been keen to deny to Pakistan, a denial that dates back to the 40s since it was a catalyst for the creation of Pakistan.

For the future, Pakistan and India will be able to stabilise their bilateral relationship and contribute to lessening of regional tension in South Asia, if they accept each other's nuclear capability and agree not to use it against the other. After all, nuclear weapons are not an end in itself, but a means to an end, which is enduring peace guaranteed by a regional "balance of terror." Additionally, as Third World countries who also happen to be neighbours, Pakistan and India can vociferously reject as being culturally racist, intellectually inadmissible and politically unacceptable, the argument of those in the West who say or feel deep down that nuclear weapons in the hands of Third Worlders are "more dangerous or Westerners are less emotional and more mature." The only time that the bomb was ever used was by a Western country against an Asian people and even during the Gulf war against Iraq, notwithstanding the virtual destruction of that country, the Americans were not willing to renounce or rule out the use of nuclear weapons against Iraq since it is viewed as a weapon of last resort. If the bomb could stabilise Soviet-American relations after World War II or help maintain peace in Europe for over four decades, why can't the bomb play the same role in South Asia too?

Relations With U.S. Seen Stalemated

92AS0378H Karachi DAWN in English 24 Nov 91 p 11

[Text] The US Under-Secretary of State's visit to Islamabad failed to produce a breakthrough in Pakistan-American relations. The two sides waxed eloquent over their desire to preserve their long-standing friendship. But these diplomatic homilies did not hide their failure to sort out their differences, mainly on the nuclear question, which have created a stalemate in their relations. It is plain that neither Islamabad nor Washington has budged from its known stand on the issue.

For the United States, nothing short of a roll back in Pakistan's nuclear programme and accession to the NPT [Non-Proliferation Treaty] is acceptable in the context of the non-proliferation regime America is trying to promote in the Third World. This was the clear message Mr Bartholomew conveyed during his stay in Islamabad. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's firm refusal to accept any unfair restrictions on Pakistan's peaceful nuclear programme was not something unexpected. That has been Pakistan's stand for a decade and a half. It is thus clear that the two sides have failed to get closer to each other over the nuclear issue.

But there is a positive dimension to what emerged from Mr Bartholomew's talks in Islamabad. The United States is willing to consider a regional approach to the nuclear question in South Asia. And towards this end, the dialogue between the United States and Pakistan is to

continue. In this context, it is reassuring that the American Under-Secretary of State was mindful of Pakistan's sensitivities. For instance, he categorically stated that the United States did not wish to promote India as a regional hegemonic power. He also explicitly recognised the disputed status of Kashmir and said it was an issue that Islamabad and New Delhi must settle peacefully.

Given the fact that the conflict in Kashmir is destabilising the region and India's chauvinism has created considerable insecurity among its neighbours, Mr Bartholomew displayed a rare understanding of the factors of tension and instability in the region. Without a good grasp of the realities of the power equations in South Asia, the United States can never hope to work successfully for a nuclear non-proliferation regime in the region. In the past, whenever America has attempted to negotiate its way through the pitfalls of Indo-Pakistan disputes it has failed to produce results. That was because its own security compulsions in the global framework of the cold war prevented it from acting impartially and evenhandedly. One hopes that in the changed international context, the United States will be in a better position to adopt an approach that is more likely to succeed.

If the Bush Administration is serious about breaking the logjam in its relations with Pakistan, it will have to tackle the nuclear question differently. Hamhanded handling and a discriminatory approach it has tried so far will not do. Pakistan has reiterated on numerous occasions that its nuclear programme is for peaceful purposes only. If there is a degree of ambivalence about Islamabad's nuclear policy, it is to be attributed to its security concerns vis-a-vis India which is believed to possess a sizable number of atomic bombs. New Delhi, on its part, claims that it cannot commit itself to a policy of non-proliferation because of the strategic factors in its relations with China, which is a nuclear power.

In this complex scenario of multiple strategic equations, the logical approach to non-proliferation would be a multi-lateral one. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's proposal for a five-nation conference makes good sense. In fact, the line taken by the United States of putting pressure on Pakistan, the smallest of the three concerned powers and with the least developed nuclear programme, could be quite counter-productive. Since the United States is in touch with the other countries of the region as well—Mr Bartholomew flew to New Delhi from Islamabad and Secretary of State Baker was in Beijing last week—it should be able to promote a regional approach with greater understanding and confidence.

As for Pakistan, it will have to learn to do without American aid as long as the nuclear issue remains unresolved. The exchanges with Mr Bartholomew have adequately demonstrated that the government is committed to uphold its independence and sovereignty and will not knuckle under pressure. This is good for the nation's self-esteem. But practical considerations also demand that the government start moving towards

greater self-reliance in its economic policy so that it can do without the aid the country has traditionally received from Washington. Unproductive official expenditure will have to be cut down. Consumerism and lavish imports have to be drastically curbed. Austerity must be the norm of government policy. Without these basic changes and modifications, the government's decision to resist American pressure will carry little credibility.

U.S. Said Practicing 'Gunboat Diplomacy'

92AS0375M Karachi DAWN in English 26 Nov 91 p 7

[Editorial: "The Logic of the Strong"]

[Text] Gunboat diplomacy as practised during the heyday of European imperialism was nothing as compared to the pressure the United States is exerting at present against Libya. The application of pressure or, in the worst cases, force was by the very nature of those times limited. But today with nothing to check American power (the Union of Sovereign States not only having taken itself out of the big league but also on the verge of disintegration), the United States can do much as it pleases in bringing recalcitrant countries into line or in otherwise chastising them. The issue in the present case is, of course, the American accusation that Libya masterminded the Lockerbie air disaster. In this connection, it is demanding the extradition of two Libyan agents who it says were responsible for the mid-air explosion in which all 270 lives on board were lost. On Friday the United States went a step further by naming a member of Colonel al-Qadhafi's inner circle, Sa'id Rashid, as being the main person behind the bomb blast. Not only has Libya vehemently denied these accusations but it has also called for an impartial international investigation of the Lockerbie explosion, signifying its readiness to accept whatever verdict that may be delivered. But the United States and Britain, scarcely heeding what Libya is trying to say above the din, continue to put the heat on that country. If Libya does not hand over the two agents, it risks anything from economic sanctions to outright military action—options which neither the United States nor Britain has foreclosed.

Isn't this the height of imperial arrogance? The Libyan stand is not unjust. All it is asking for is to be heard and for the matter to be examined impartially. But the United States, bestriding the world like a colossus (the Shakespearean phrase fits it perfectly in the aftermath of the Gulf war), is in no mood to listen to these suggestions. From the flimsiness of the American charge against Libya, and from the blind hatred that successive American administrations have borne Colonel al-Qadhafi, it would seem that the American aim is not so much to investigate the Lockerbie disaster as to punish Libya for its past sins and transgressions.

At this juncture it is the responsibility of the Islamic world primarily to come to Libya's assistance and to do everything it can to prevent America from carrying out its unholy designs against Tripoli. If Libya can be

knocked around in this manner today, it will be some other country's turn tomorrow. The time to act, therefore, is now. Whatever their other differences (and there are plenty between them), all Islamic countries, even those close to the United States, must speak with one voice (and a strident voice at that) on this issue. Otherwise, if something happens to Libya, they will be judged by history as accessories in this infamy. It is pertinent to ask at this point whether this is what the New World Order is going to mean—that America brandishes the stick at whomsoever it chooses. If this is what it is going to be (and the overwhelming evidence at the moment supports this possibility), then it is something that should send a shiver down the spine of every small country that happens to lie in America's path. As if the Libyan thing was not hot enough, there are reports from Washington suggesting that the United States has held talks with Japan to examine the possibility of destroying North Korea's nuclear facilities. The question is: Who has made the United States the sole judge and arbiter of what goes on in the world? In the bipolar world which existed not so long ago, a price would have had to be paid for such arrogance. But that world has collapsed and the United States clearly feels that it can get away with anything.

Technology Transfers Reportedly Opposed by U.S.

92AS0379J Lahore THE NATION in English
28 Nov 91 pp 1, 4

[Article by M.A. Niazi: "Pak Technology Transfer Woes Take New Turn"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lahore—Pakistan's technology transfer woes have taken a new turn with an American government lawsuit against a vital private sector defence industry, which has already been brought to a standstill by a forcible takeover six months ago, with the Pakistan Government dithering over what to do because reversing the takeover might cause trouble in the Tribal Area.

Though the government did not pay serious attention to the mid-May forcible takeover of Micro Electronic (Pvt) Ltd by Haji Abdur Rehman, a Mohmand Agency chieftain, it was forced to sit up and take notice about two weeks ago, when the US government officially asked it for a clarification of its position about the alleged possession of 'illegal technology' by the firm.

The US Commerce Department had earlier filed a suit in a US Court against Micro Electronics for possessing an allegedly illegally imported piece of equipment. The equipment the Commerce Department alleges has been obtained by the firm is a basic technology which allows a wide range of engineering and electronics designing. It conceivably has military applications, but Micro Electronics denies possession of such a sophisticated piece of equipment.

However, Micro Electronics has been deeply involved in communications technology and electronics since it was founded in the early 1980s. While it is an important

player in the consumer electronics market, it has also executed several important contracts in both communication systems and electronics for all three armed services as well as the police forces of all four provinces and other civil armed forces.

While such items as radio sets and walkie-talkies are open knowledge, some of the work has been classified.

It is worth noting that the American lawsuit comes in the wake of the US aid cutoff to Pakistan. At the time of the clampdown, both the two 'big-ticket items' the Pakistan Army was negotiating to acquire from the Americans were to do with communications, PATCOM, an advanced communications system and the AN/TRC170 'troposcatter radio'. With the clampdown in effect, Micro Electronics would be one of the most logical contenders to develop an indigenously developed replacement, with experience in communications and a highly qualified and experienced staff.

The American action could only be explained as another example of harassing a Third World Muslim country, attacking not just the government, but also private firms which do not have the resisting power a government does.

At the same time, the spectre of yet another miscarriage of justice and of persecution in an American court, like the Arshad Pervez maraging steel and BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] laundering trials, faces Micro Electronics at a time when its local operations have been shut down after one of the most amazing episodes in Pakistani business history.

Haji Rehman was interested in investing in Micro Electronics, and made several visits there, but without actually putting up any money, he took over the operation suddenly in early June with actual show of force and display of arms, at the Lahore factory. Micro Electronics has a Rawalpindi office to liaise with its largest single customer, the Defence Production Division [DPD], a plant in Lahore, where mostly DPD contracts are handled, and one in Karachi, where the consumer products are manufactured. They are now all under round-the-clock guard by Haji Rehman's men.

Production has come to a complete standstill, with all the technical personnel having left, more in amazement than anger. The only hands still working are the factory girls, semiskilled workers who cannot run the plants. Even these have mostly left, after incidents of maltreatment and abuse, with the climax coming about a week ago, when all of them were locked into the Lahore factory under guard for several hours while the new owners searched for some items of equipment.

A major Japanese firm, which had placed manufacturing equipment at Lahore under a partnership arrangement, has already made noises particularly at the recently concluded Investors' Conference about the sudden takeover by someone they did not know, and with whom they had no business dealings. The effects this incident alone

are having on potential Japanese investors are fatal to the government's hopes of attracting investment from one of the only countries left with large amounts of surplus capital available for foreign investment.

Most disturbing is the failure of the government's security measures. An officer of senior field rank was deputed to supervise security at Micro Electronics' Lahore plant, because of the classified nature of some of the work done there. However, he inexplicably took no action whatsoever upon Haji Rehman's takeover, even though the Lahore plant had lost most of its security measures under the 'new management'. The officer is near to retirement, perhaps explaining the display of such gross lack of attention.

The leakiness of the plant represents a major security risk, for even if Micro Electronics has not made any earthshaking breakthroughs in communications or electronics, a knowledge of the inside of the plant would provide any power hostile to Pakistan invaluable information about Pakistani defence capabilities.

The Government's attitude is also cavalier. It does not want to take action against Haji Rehman because of his tribal influence, while he is holding out for a large sum of money for giving up his hold partially—in other words, selling what is not his in the first place. Also, it is doing nothing to help Micro Electronics' *de jure* management to deal with the American government's lawsuit, almost throwing them to the wolves, simply because the Foreign Office does not wish to 'offend' the Americans at this juncture. [sentence as published]

The whole episode provides yet another example of how faintheartedness and indifference allows important national assets go waste. Unless the government acts very soon, the Micro Electronics story will be over.

Political Leader Accuses U.S. of Colonialism

92AS0379H Lahore THE NATION in English
29 Nov 91 pp 1, 4

[Article: "US Wants Viceroys All Over World: Nasrullah"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Lahore—The speakers at a seminar on the US New World Order [NWO] and the Islamic Order held here on Friday under the auspices of 'Sanjh Vichaar' unanimously resolved that only the real leadership can face this challenge having full support of the people of all walks of life and could unite the country besides defending the ideologies for which Pakistan had come into existence.

PDP [Pakistan Democratic Party] Chief Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan presided over the seminar which, among others, was addressed by Jama'at-i-Islami Deputy Amir Prof Ghafoor Ahmad, PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Secretary-General Sh Rafiq Ahmad and Hanif Ramey.

Speaking on the occasion Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan opined that the US New World Order had been announced by US President George Bush during the Middle East war at a time when the gigantic cracks had jolted socialism and communism in the USSR on the pretext that the New World Order would bring peace and equality in the world besides ensuring protection to the sovereignty of small States. He alleged that the USA, as a matter of fact, wanted to appoint viceroys of its own choice all over the world and did not like to accept the independence and integrity of any country.

He said the United States had destroyed the Iraqi military power and the Allied forces dropped thousands of bombs on the Iraqi territories which killed tens of thousands of Muslims during the Gulf war. He lamented that the Arab Muslim countries which never liked to hear even the name of Israel were forced to sit in the Madrid Peace Conference.

Nawabzada Nasrullah said the USA had ignored the UN Resolutions on Held Kashmir and went on to add that the recent International Conference held at London on the Kashmir issue had failed miserably in which the AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] Prime Minister Sardar Abdul Qayyum and the Federal Minister Raja Zafarul Haq had proposed a third way to India and United States contrary to the UN Resolutions against the sovereignty of Pakistan.

The United States cannot accept the independence of the small states, he added. First they asked Pakistan to reduce the military budget and then to take our nuclear programme back at the level of 1986 but the Pressler Amendment had never been in the way of US President in the past and the US President had been giving a certificate that the Pakistan Nuclear Programme had not crossed the red line, he added.

He accused the present regime of ignoring the Kashmir issue and pointed out that till 1958 this issue had always been the major issue of the foreign policy. He alleged that former President Ayub Khan while visiting Delhi offered the Indian Prime Minister Nehru for a joint military defence agreement. According to the Nawabzada, Mr. Nehru responded that they had no joint enemy. Had this agreement concluded, the foreign policy would have been dominated by Indians and in case of war the Supreme command would have also been in the hands of Indians because of larger number of Indian army.

He said only that leadership could face the New World Order which could unite the nation and the country and such leadership could not face the challenge which itself had divided the people on ethnic, religious, secretarian and regional issues.

He lashed out at Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif for his speech which he delivered on the eve of Independence Day and said that the Prime Minister addressing the people stated that the politicians should be thrown in the sea and that all of them were conspirators whom he

would hang. The government, he added, which claims itself an Islamic State is reluctant to recognise Azarba-ijan and in a course they were accusing him of opposing the every government but they did not realise that he had always worked for the cause of democracy.

Naib Amir Jama'at-i-Islamic Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad expressing his views said the United States with the help of UN Resolutions was committing crimes and it seemed the USA with the connivance of Britain wanted to occupy the world resources and rule the world.

He pointed out that 15 percent population of the world had occupied 70 percent income whereas 80 percent people were spending miserable life having good lands and other resources and the changing global circumstances had made the United States a supreme power after the disaster of socialism and communism in USSR. [sentence as published]

Prof Ghafoor asserted that Eastern Europe, Japan and united Germany could resist the USA but after the Middle East War, the United States had become more powerful. Discussing the NWO, the Jama'at-i-Islami leader said the whole world had expressed its suspicion on it because the USA was constantly protecting Israel and South Africa, and it had also threatened to invade Iraq and Libya.

He urged the government to demand a Muslim seat in the UN Security Council and said that the United States should stop threatening the Muslim countries. He demanded that United States should give compensation to Japan for dropping two atom bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

Secretary-General PPP Sh Rafiq Ahmad stressed the need for the national leadership, which keeping in view the national interests not only could serve the country but also unite the people according to the Islamic spirit. He said with the help of people the New World Order could be contained and its jurisdiction restrained. He said only an elected government having full mandate of the people could challenge the US conspiracies.

Former Chief Minister Punjab Hanif Ramey in his speech said that God had always provided a Moses for a Pharaoh. He said socialism and communism were two man-made systems which had fallen down but that capitalism would also fall because it was based on interest which was against the Holy Quran and Sunnah and God and His Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) had ordered to fight with those who give and take interest.

He emphasised the need for unity of the Muslims and the implementation of Islam according to its true spirit. He said the USA wanted India to be not less of a power than China and our policy should be that our atomic programme would be for peaceful purposes. He said that USA had used the atom bomb when it was the only country having it but then it could not use it in the Vietnam war because at that time many other countries had too. He said the United States had occupied oil wells

in Kuwait from where oil was being supplied to Japan and Germany so that it could control them at any time. He was of the view that Pakistan should have good relations with Iran and Libya irrespective of our political differences because we should unite the Muslim Ummah. He said Muslim States in USSR were getting independence which would soon occupy their national resources as well as on atomic weapons and the situation in Asia would cut India to size. He was of the view that all the Muslim states should unite themselves to face the New World Order.

Inayat Hussain Bhatti, Hamid Mir, Farakh Sohail Goindi also spoke on the occasion and stated that the Muslim countries should realise the conspiracy against Islam in the name of New World Order.

U.S. Seen 'Paranoid' Over Nuclear Programs

92AS0378C Lahore THE NATION in English
29 Nov 91 p 6

[Article by Arif Azim: "India, Pakistan, and the NPT"]

[Text] The objective of the recent visit of the American Under-Secretary of State on Security Assistance, Mr Reginald Batholomew, has centred around attempts to convince both India and Pakistan to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT] and open up their nuclear installations to international inspections and safeguards. Prevention of development of nuclear weapons by nations that the United States has failed to capture in its orbit has forever remained a corner-stone of its nuclear policy. The American policy has taken a particularly vicious turn in the new geopolitical scenario in which the United States has emerged as the sole dominant force in an almost unipolar world where it has greater freedom to exercise its fiat. Against this backdrop, Mr Bartholomew's visit has been given a great deal of importance in Washington D.C. to signal that refusal to go along with the wishes of the White House on this issue would be viewed with considerable displeasure and jeopardise American commitments to fulfil the development needs of the two countries.

American paranoia in the matter of nuclear weapons is based on the ridiculous presumption that possession of nuclear weapons by a developing nation will not destabilise international peace but is also dangerous. The Americans conveniently forget that the basic framework of their own nuclear policy has rested on the concept of deterrence and it is this very objective for which a country like Pakistan would wish to develop a nuclear programme of its own to preserve territorial integrity. As for the hazards of nuclear proliferation, the United States itself holds the dubious privilege of being the only nation to have actually used a nuclear weapon; moreover, it wasted absolutely no time in nuking the Japanese once the devastating capability of the prototype was tested and proved at Alomogordo. [as published]

Control over proliferation of nuclear weapons, however, fits in with the charter of the much-trumpeted New

World Order that has been persistently advocated ever since the Soviet Union began to exhibit signs of implosion. With the successful mauling of Iraq and neutralisation of its clearly-defined nuclear programme, the only nuclear programmes viewed suspiciously by the West and which remain intact are those of India, Pakistan and North Korea. The Brazilians appear to have abandoned their nuclear plans and once India and Pakistan also follow suit, the remaining candidates for covert or overt membership in the Nuclear Club can also be convinced or coerced to dump their nuclear ambitions.

Nuclear capability spells deterrence for Pakistan especially because India's nuclear programme is already at an advanced stage. Pakistan has often spoken of a nuclear free region in South Asia which has been vehemently opposed without cogent justification by New Delhi. Pakistan's nuclear option, whether it aims to harness nuclear technology for military purposes or as a source of energy, thus depends entirely on Indian intentions and a decision on signing the non-proliferation treaty cannot be taken in isolation.

Signing of the non-proliferation treaty is totally meaningless for Pakistan if it is not complemented by a guarantee that provides assurances on security; once such a security arrangement is in place, less expenditure would be required on defence, thereby releasing badly needed resources that can effectively be diverted to deficient areas of the economy. Viewed against this perspective, it would appear that adherence to the NPT should serve the economic interests of both India and Pakistan over the long run. But again, mere signing of the NPT will not even marginally balance the military equation in South Asia unless it is accompanied by similar measures elsewhere. Acceptance of the principle of non-proliferation can be contemplated provided suitable guarantees are put in place for preservation of Pakistan's internal and external sovereignty and in addition to that, there are various devices and protocols that can reduce the military threat.

Brinkmanship had traditionally characterised Indo-Pakistan relations; lately, emphasis has been more on dialogue. Bilateral talks between India and Pakistan have been held on almost a non-stop basis for the last few years but although disputes remain unresolved, negotiations have covered all issues that dampened relations. The implicit aim has been to ease tensions and improve relations for a start so that a meaningful basis can be evolved to finally resolve the issues before these exacerbate further. As a result of these negotiations, India and Pakistan have so far agreed to exchange instruments of ratification of the agreement on prohibition of assaults against each other's nuclear installations and facilities. Committees have been set up to demarcate boundaries in lower Sindh and to remove suspicions and apprehensions about the Wullar Barrage. The two countries have also agreed to establish telephone links between their military commanders for monitoring troops movements

and provisions are being made for advance notice of military exercises and manoeuvres and prevention of violations of airspace.

But inherent suspicions about each other's designs still remain. It is ironical that India has reacted sharply to the modest increases in Pakistan's military capabilities during the recent years and has stubbornly failed to concede that this has been mainly due to the presence of the Red Army in Afghanistan and the elimination of a buffer state between what was then the Evil Empire and South Asia. India at times talked in terms of a no-war pact which is quite an irrelevant proposal. As members of the United Nations, both are committed to a covenant that prohibits wars between member nations. Further, the Simla Agreement too rules out war between the two countries. In any case, history has shown that when the chips are down, no-war pacts and pacts of non-aggression are rarely worth the paper they are written on. Pakistan on the other hand has proposed reducing military capabilities. Such an accord, however, would frustrate India's cherished dream of becoming a major regional power even if it means going broke in the bargain and would also weaken it vis-a-vis the Chinese whom the Indians have always wanted to match militarily.

Effective controls over arms proliferation in South Asia can to a considerable extent remove mutual suspicions. An across-the-board reduction will mean that the imbalance will still persist. On paper, India does appear to have an advantage in terms of armed forces personnel, technology and firepower and a strong economic base that can sustain a war. Further, India has the nuclear advantage over Pakistan and a moratorium on development of nuclear power will favour India if there is no accompanying agreement to destroy weapons-grade nuclear fuel.

An accord on lines of the agreement for reduction of Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) signed by European nations last year can serve the purpose; forces can be trimmed down to a level that minimises threat of aggression if not totally eliminating it. There are various ways to achieve this. The best model naturally is general disarmament with territorial integrity to be thereafter guaranteed under international covenant. This, however, is more of a Utopian concept and though it was achieved during the Gulf war, it is impossible to enforce unless strong interests are involved as was in the case of Kuwait. The option of sizable reduction in conventional forces is practical only when the capacity of the party nations to engage the other in conflict are equalised. If India and Pakistan were to have a comparable conventional firepower, there would be less possibility of conflict and even less chances for tensions to develop on the borders. The flip side of this paradigm is that it may be able to prevent war but it tends to delay peace.

On-the-site inspections, visibility of troops deployments and monitoring of movements of conventional forces

and weapons are another alternative. Moderate agreements have already been reached on these lines. Air reconnaissance missions employing sophisticated photography devices and access to satellite facilities can be more effective than on-the-site inspections but this technology has yet to be developed or is not currently available to the two nations. Likewise, early warning and manned and unmanned observation posts, especially in vulnerable positions along the borders, can dispense with the necessity of concentrating troops in such locations. No doubt such measures involve massive initial expenditure but they are cost-effective over the long run as substitutes for sophisticated and expensive weaponry that would otherwise have been necessary to defend such locations.

If the two countries become aware of each other's capabilities and the positioning of fire-power, the element of surprise can be narrowed from the equation by restricting the ability of one to strike at the other when it is least prepared. Controlling the density of force deployments is another mechanism to regulate a mutual security arrangement. By fixing a density of force deployment, it can be ensured that forces deployed are sufficient to repulse an attack but not enough to launch one.

Ambassador Accuses U.S. of 'Turning Its Back'

92AS0380C Lahore *THE NATION* in English 2 Dec 91
p 16

[Text] New York—Pakistan's new Ambassador to the United States, Syeda Abida Hussain, doing some 'plain speaking' in her first interview to an American newspaper, has chided Washington for abandoning Pakistan.

With Soviet troops out of Afghanistan and the cold war over, she was quoted as saying that the United States has turned its back on its most reliable ally in South Asia with a punitive aid cut-off that has crippled literacy and family-planning programmes.

Ambassador Abida Hussain, the first woman to represent Pakistan in Washington, spoke to NEW YORK TIMES Correspondent, Barbara Crossette, whose dispatch was published on Sunday.

Correspondent Crossette described her (Abida) as a skilled politician with strong opinions and no diplomatic experience. The Pakistan Ambassador said she does not plan to shy from controversy.

"I like to think that Americans above all other modern societies are the most up-front people in the world," she said. "Since I'm a sort of up-front character myself, I would hope that I would get along just fine. I don't think that plain speaking hurts."

US-Pakistan relations touched a low point in October when Washington cut off its economic and military aid on suspicions that Islamabad was developing a nuclear

weapon. The action was taken when President George Bush failed to certify Pakistan's nuclear programme.

Today, Ambassador Abida Hussain said the American legislation, which covers neither India nor Islamabad, is discriminatory.

When the war in Afghanistan was going on, the United States Government looked the other way, she said, while repeating Pakistan's denial that it had a nuclear weapon. "Now the United States Government is suddenly turning moralistic on the issue."

Ms Hussain said the war left Pakistan with a gun culture, heroin addiction and three million Afghan refugees. She described these crises as a direct fallout of our cooperation with Washington during the Afghanistan war.

The American aid cut off is absolute, said Ms Hussain. This has affected Pakistan's population-control programme, our environmental protection strategy, education programmes particularly the literacy programmes funded by USAID [U. Agency for International Development] and technical education.

Senator Larry Pressler, a Republican who sponsored the amendment, was quoted as saying in the dispatch that he found it paradoxical that Islamabad was blaming the United States for its shortcomings in dealing with its needs when it had chosen for so long to put its resources into nuclear development.

According to the dispatch, Ambassador Abida Hussain believes the Americans know little of Pakistan.

"It's important for Americans to understand that we're not an obscurantist, fundamentalist society," she said. The government in Pakistan is a moderate government, she observed.—APP.

U.S. Seen 'Biased' Toward Libya, Al-Qadhdhafi
92AS0375L Karachi DAWN in English 26 Nov 91 p 7

[Article by Shameem Akhtar: "Libya: West's Favorite Villain"]

[Text] Now it is Libya's turn. The United States and Britain have demanded the extradition of two employees of the Libyan intelligence, Abdel Basset Ali Mohammad al-Maghrahi and al-Amin Khalifa Fhimah, for allegedly planting a plastic time bomb in a cassette player on board the Pan-Am flight 103 somewhere in transit, possibly at Frankfurt in December, 1988.

The device had gone off over Lockerbie, Scotland, soon after the plane had taken off from the Heathrow airport, killing 270 passengers. There was no talk of terrorist attack for quite some time. In fact, the authorities in Frankfurt had denied the possibility of anyone slipping in the baggage, containing the device, in the airliner.

Now the United States and Britain both claim they have found evidence that the accused had managed to place

the baggage, containing the hidden explosive and booked for some other flights, in the Pan-Am airliner by switching the tag. A very far-fetched idea indeed! By a strange coincidence, France also stumbled upon the discovery that the ubiquitous Libyans had a hand in their airliner's crash in Sahara in 1989.

With this scenario assiduously manipulated, Bush, Major and Mitterrand are on the kill. Despite the best efforts on the part of the United States in the past to get al-Qadhdhafi, he had a narrow escape. However, his 14-month-old adopted infant daughter along with hundreds of civilians fell victim to the bombing attack on April 15, 1986.

The non-aligned foreign ministers had denounced it as "a savage act of state terrorism" while the UN General Assembly called it "an aggression against Libya" and directed the United States to pay damages to Libya. The United States has not yet paid it nor its membership dues.

Leaving Syria and Iran out at the moment whom they want to use in the Middle East and Gulf, the three colonial powers have threatened action against Libya. The one-sided ultimatum is so worded that it leaves no room for either negotiations or adjudication by an impartial tribunal.

Libya has outrightly rejected the charges of terrorist attack and has offered to submit to the International Court of Justice or some other unbiased court. For the present it has appointed a Supreme Court to probe the matter. Since there are no extradition treaties between Libya and these powers, the latter can't insist on the extradition of the employees of the Libyan government? France, it may be recalled, had ordered, during the eighties, the killing of the pacifist crew of the Rainbow Warrior who were simply monitoring the nuclear tests in the Pacific. Later, it raised hue and cry to secure the release of its naval officers who were found guilty of cold-blooded murder.

The United States invaded Grenada in 1983 and Panama, a UN member, in 1989 and captured General Noriega, bombed the densely populated areas in the town killing 4,000 to 5,000 people, burying most of them in mass graves.

When the Israelis downed a Libyan airliner over Sinai in 1974 and Americans an Iranian airbus over the Gulf on July 3, 1988, they did not extradite the perpetrators of these crimes. On the contrary, the United States and Britain justified the downing of the Iranian airliner on grounds of self-defence under Article 51 of the UN charter.

The latest American threat to Libya must be seen in the context of US-Libyan relations following the September 1969 revolution that removed the Anglo-US military bases and the foreign oil monopolies. Since then, the

Libyan Arab Jamahiriya got on the wrong side of Washington. The US spy planes S-13 had been on eavesdropping missions to Libya since 1973 violating its airspace. Kissinger and Joseph Sisco had always regarded Libya as an obstacle to the US designs in the region and the Middle East. And, when Libya opposed the Camp David peace process, the Carter administration decided to overthrow its government: a battalion of marines was trained to invade Libya and occupy it. This was disclosed by SUN in August 1979.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR and THE WASHINGTON POST reported in their issues of August 11 and August 25, 1981, respectively, about a plot hatched by the United States to assassinate the Libyan President Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi. The Reagan administration set about the task of executing the assassination plot. The US spy planes continued their flights across the Libyan skies and President Reagan personally ordered naval manoeuvres inside the Gulf of Sirte which Libya claims as its territorial waters in the same manner as the United States claims the Chesapeake Bay.

The aggressive designs of the United States are evident from the fact that its Sixth Fleet went to the Gulf of Sirte some six thousand miles from its territory and engaged the Libyan planes in a combat and shot down two of them in mid-August 1981.

This was the beginning of onslaughts on the tiny Arab country on one pretext or the other. In December 85, Libya installed SAM-5 missiles in Sirte to strengthen its air defence system. Egypt and Israel raised hue and cry that the missiles posed a threat to their security although each of them possessed deadlier weapons, thanks to the US military assistance.

The Reagan administration ordered Libya to remove the missiles because they posed a threat to the United States. The Libyan Foreign Minister retorted that the United States wanted an excuse to attack his country. Then the Americans began to see Libyan hand in every act of terrorism around the globe: Libya was blamed for the hijacking of the Italian ship, Achilles Lauro, on October 7, 1985 and the attack on the airports of Vienna and Venice, by a Palestinian group, giving rise to a spate of anti-Libyan propaganda and a US offensive against Libya in January 1986.

Another assault was launched by the US fleet in January, 1989. This time its mission was to destroy a pharmaceutical plant which the United States alleged produced chemical weapons, a charge that was found to be false after investigation by French and German governments whose firms had built it. The Libyan government offered to submit the plant to international inspection but the United States rejected it. The reason was that the United States had been serving the interests of its pharmaceutical industry whose monopoly it had sought to establish in Libya. Its logic is very simple: why should any Third World country establish its own pharmaceutical industry? On January 4, 1989 eight Tomcats from the

aircraft carrier, John F. Kennedy, struck two unarmed Libyan planes on reconnaissance flight while they were, according to the US Navy Commander's radio message, in a "cautionary warning yellow situation." Even then President Reagan justified the piratical attack. In March 90, the pharmaceutical plant was mysteriously burnt amid public outcry of sabotage by the Germans working there.

Al-Qadhafi has taken bold and positive initiatives in recent years to patch up Libya's differences with the West and Arab neighbours. He withdrew his forces from Chad and recognised the government which had been backed by the West. But the United States responded to this gesture by training hundreds of the captured Libyan troops and deserters in Chad for toppling the Libyan government through counter-revolution.

Libya has paid pound sterling 250,000 as compensation to Britain for the death of a British policewoman, an initiative that led to the restoration of diplomatic relations with Britain. But it seems that the Anglo-French-US bloc is determined to overthrow the al-Qadhafi government and replace it with a puppet regime. Only recently Israel test-fired its missile which hit the Libyan territory but no action was taken by the United Nations.

The Libyan government is justified in demanding a hearing from the World Court or any impartial tribunal because it considers the American and British courts highly partisan as far as the trial of its nationals is concerned.

U.S. Aid Cut Said Due to Many Causes

92AS0378A Lahore THE NATION in English 4 Dec 91 pp 1, 8

[Article by Mariana Baabar: "U.S. Aid Cut Not Only Due to Pressler Amendment"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad—Mr Jim Norris, chief of USAID [U.S. Agency for International Development] mission in Pakistan stated on Tuesday that even if the Pressler certification had not been involved against the Pakistan Government, aid to Pakistan would have been reduced. Some drawback was there before the Pressler. "The biggest factor and the truly important would be diverting economic assistance to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe," he added while speaking to the Press at the residence of an embassy personnel. But he hastened to add further that this did not mean that the invocation of the Pressler Amendment had not affected the USAID programmes here.

Mr Norris revealed that if Pakistan's nuclear issues were to be resolved, funds allotted for its economic supporting programmes together with development assistance would amount to 125 million dollars. Of this 100 million dollars are for economic supporting programmes while 25 million is earmarked for development assistance.

When questioned whether the price of Pakistan's nuclear policy in the eyes of the US Government was a mere 125 million dollars, Norris replied: 'In the early 80s, the US and Pakistan Government came to an agreement that the United States would provide significant economic assistance if Pakistan did not proceed with a nuclear explosive device. But I don't know if anyone saw the direct evaluation of US aid with Pakistan's nuclear policy.'

While Mr Norris could not quote a categorical example of another such case where a recipient country had been discriminated with the Pressler Amendment only said: "I cannot give an accurate reply," he made it very clear that even if aid to Pakistan would resume, "it would require reduction and its continuation would require lowering the level of staffing."

"If the programme is resumed it will certainly be resumed at a lower level."

Norris's only optimistic remark which observers termed as more of a carrot and stick policy was the fact that there was no definite date for funds earmarked for Pakistan to lapse, though he admitted that as the US financial year develops, funds do get switched and there is Congressional pressure to divert the funds towards other programmes. When asked to comment on the recent high-level Pak-US talks held in Islamabad last month, Norris said: "It was an explorative visit to find some way out of the nuclear issue impasse. I think that it was very positive that the meeting took place. The discussions put both sides to a better understanding of the issues, concerns and approaches under discussions. Situation is now a step forward from where it was."

However, Norris categorically denied the impression that the US Government was pressurising other donor countries to also cut off aid to Pakistan if it persisted to continue its present nuclear policy. He said: "Since the whole process began, we have been working with the Pakistan Government and other donor countries to ensure that projects off the grounds are not adversely effected. An example is the World Bank providing support to primary education in Pakistan." However, when the chief realised that he needed to elaborate further on this point, he quoted from a document which stated that the US Government ensured Pakistan's development process. Despite its own legislative system, it did not stand in the way of other donors and nor intended to do so.

Mr Norris came to meet the media just after the CNN had aired a report alleging US Aid fund embezzlement in Pakistan. Defending these allegations, Norris clarified that a private sector was providing funds for agriculture plants where total value of the plant came to four million dollars. Out of this, two-and-a-half million dollars were taken in kickbacks, by the Pakistani and American suppliers. This was discovered after examinations of documents at the USAID mission. The US supplier has

been convicted and has returned the two-and-a-half million while a case is now proceeding against the Pakistani importers.

Commenting on the overall impact of cut-back in US aid on Pakistan's economy, Norris said that on the one hand, the economic assistance programme at the present was continuing at the same level as before the cut-off. "The actual financial impact is zero," he explained. But while there were funds for the next two to three years after that time there would be gradual slowing down and such support as was present today would not be there. Norris said that one of the reasons he was meeting with the media was to bring home the point that today, the net total in USAID economic programme, assistance for Pakistan for projects funding without Pressler certification was 2,032.2 million dollars. This included energy, agricultural and rural development, education, health and population, private sector and road development, and other projects.

He said that though the US assistance programme was getting no new funds but the ones received in the past were being used. This is in spite of the fact that a glance of the status of US economic assistance to Pakistan and debt repayments show that military debt repayment in the financial year '91 alone was 229.7 million dollars. This was followed by debt repayments in the aid and PI-480 title programme which together amount to 1,44,619 [figure as published] million dollars. One of the most important US aid programmes which affects the common person in Pakistan and which remains unaffected so far, in spite of the cut-off is the Anti-Narcotic Programme. Though the project is still being implemented, Norris was frank to admit that an important programme such as this "regrettably would not be able to get new funds."

Nuclear Exports to Saudi Arabia

*92WP0060U Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
22 Oct 91 p 6, 8*

[New Report: "Pakistan's Modern Shoulder-Fire Missiles Exported to Saudi Arabia"]

[Text] Karachi (Special Correspondent)—Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, the prominent nuclear scientist of our nation said that Pakistan is one of the few countries in the world that has enriched uranium and that is able to demonstrate its nuclear capability for national defense in a very short time. He was addressing a banquet given by the Federation of Chambers. He said that the work done in the Kahuta plant to improve the defense capabilities and preparation of modern weapons for the Pakistani armed forces have resulted in the production of the latest model shoulder-fire missiles. He said that the government had put full faith in him, and that its faith was justified. "We faced many difficulties in nuclear areas," he said. "The greatest difficulty was in obtaining qualified scientists and engineers. To rectify this problem, the Ghulam Ishaq Institute of Sciences is being built on a 30-acre parcel of land in Trabala under my leadership.

This institute will cost about 125 billion rupees. Banker Agha Husan Aabdi has donated 500 million rupees toward construction of this building." When Dr. Qadeer Khan had appealed to industrialists and businessmen for donations, he received over 12 million rupees in pledges. One of the largest donations was from Chanute Islamiya Trust for 5 million rupees. Industrialist S.M. Munir pledged 1 million rupees. Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan talked about his family's move from India after the partition. He said that Sindh did not only give him a place to hide, but he received all of his education in Karachi. He remembers Karachi, Sadar, Chagvada, Burns Road, and Nazimabad. He is very proud of his association with Karachi. He said that some nations have stopped aid to Pakistan as punishment for its nuclear program. Those countries were putting pressure on Pakistan to stop its nuclear program. He said that he was the person with the most enemies in the world.

Many laser wonders have also been prepared. These have been sold to Saudi Arabia recently. When these "wonders" were compared with those made in Western nations, ours proved to be superior. The Western countries sell these "wonders" for 10,000 pounds per unit, while we sell them for only \$7,500 per unit. Our cost was only \$5,000 per unit. We are receiving more orders for laser "wonders." In addition, Pakistani scientists have also designed antitank missiles and have started production. We have received orders worth \$360 million from foreign countries. He said that when General Zia had ordered the start of the uranium enrichment process in 1981 and visited the Kahuta plant, he was amazed. To reward him for his services, General Zia ordered the Kahuta laboratory named for Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan. Dr. Khan considered it a great honor that a research facility was named after a scientist.

Resistance of Pressure To Roll Back Nuclear Program Urged

92AS0378D Lahore THE NATION in English 2 Dec 91
p 7

[Article by Inayatullah: "Our Nuclear Dilemma: Damned If You Have It, Damned If You Don't!"]

[Text] Pakistan's overriding concern for security, subsumes all other issues—national and international. The nuclear question is integrally linked to the country's defence. It, in fact, has come to be a crucial factor in our foreign relations. It also has a vital domestic dimension.

With independence, Pakistan inherited a hostile India. As late as November 1991, a comparatively moderate India in a recent seminar attended by Pakistani and Indian intellectuals questioned the two-nation theory which indeed is the very basis of Pakistan. The imprudent observation was strongly rebutted by a Pakistan participant. The point, however, was made that even today, India is reluctant to accept Pakistan as an independent sovereign state. The whole 44-year record of India-Pakistan relations is replete with quarrels and

conflicts. Not without reason does Pakistan view its larger neighbour with suspicion and mistrust and perceives it dead set to grow into an overbearing regional hegemony. How else to explain India's chronicle of duplicity and aggression? How else to explain its military takeover of Hyderabad, Goa, its unceremonious devouring of Sikkim, its occupation of Kashmir, its invasion of East Pakistan and its acquisition of Siachin? All these imperialistic encroachments need to be remembered if a realistic relationship is to be developed with it in the years to come.

The continuing preoccupation of Pakistan with the Indian threat has right from 1947, determined its foreign policy, shaped its defence and influenced its domestic priorities. The perception of this threat has been enhanced with the considerable increase in India's military muscle during the last decade. Its continued Army-Navy and Air Force strength is many times that of the Pakistani armed forces. Its missile superiority is unquestioned. Unquestioned also are its designs against its neighbours. The recent sabotaging of the Colombo SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] Conference and arm twisting of Bhutan (and Nepal) speak eloquently of its unwholesome intentions. As far back as 1974, seventeen long years ago, it exploded a nuclear device. It sought to explain it away as a peaceful explosion as if it were just an exercise in "nuclear non-violence." Only a dunderhead would today doubt India's nuclear weapon capability.

It is in this context of an expansionist and arrogant nuclear India that Pakistan's current quest for security has to be viewed and appraised. Way back in the 1950s it was this very search for security and support that pushed Pakistan into the American lap. American assistance—economic and military—has been a major element in the growth and development (and some may even say the degeneration) of Pakistan. This assistance has come to a stop.

The name of the game in American parlance with regard to its current and future relations with Pakistan is "Pressler" and "Pressler" means a non-nuclear Pakistan. "Pressler" was kept in the cold storage when USA needed Pakistan to counter the Soviet penetration of Afghanistan. With the collapse of communism and the breakdown of the Soviet Union (it practically has become an American satellite) and with the triumphant emergence of USA as the sole superpower, Pakistan has lost much of its value and importance. That it is an Islamic country all the more makes it unfit in the American eyes to have a nuclear weapon.

The plain fact is that by stopping economic and military aid to Pakistan the United States is coercing Pakistan to cut down its nuclear programme and sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT]. It may be relevant here to understand what NPT is. Years back in mid-60s a Special Presidential commission propounded that the "spread of nuclear weapons poses an increasingly grave threat to the security of the United States." It was this

perceived threat that motivated Americans to forge a Treaty in July 1968 with 62 nations (145 at present) including the then three nuclear weapons states—the Soviet Union, United States and Great Britain, signing it. The signatories were divided into 2 categories. (1) those who had tested a nuclear weapon before January 1, 1967 could continue to hold their nuclear armoury, test more devices and continue to add to their arsenal and (2) others who agree not to acquire or develop nuclear weapons.

If in the 1960s the USA could with a view to safeguard its national interest against an emerging threat to its security, devise an international arrangement, and at the same [time] keep its atomic weaponry as also the freedom to add to it, why shouldn't another independent sovereign state take necessary steps to protect itself from the threat of aggression against it? The superpower real politik may not find this line of argument very convincing as it has a special logic of its own resting entirely on its interests and ambitions, however, misplaced or arrogant these be, in the eyes of a smaller and weaker power.

With a hostile nuclear India on one side and a pro-India superpower on the other (the Pressler Amendment failed even partially to be extended to India and American high tech aid continues to flow to it), what should Pakistan do with regard to the nuclear issue?

What are its options?

If Pakistan keeps to its nuclear programme and refuses to accept American advice, it runs the risk of provoking latter's wrath. The stoppage of aid is just one preliminary step. It could be followed by other measures aimed at isolating and weakening Pakistan. The worldwide influence of the superpower could create conditions which adversely affect Pakistan's military clout and economic programmes. Mention may be made here of America's pressure on China not to transfer missiles to Pakistan and instead to follow the MTRC (Missile Technology Control Regime). Also the recent statement of the Chairman POF [Pakistan] Ordnance Factories that Western powers are already taking steps to stop the transfer of technology to Pakistan.

If Pakistan blinks and buckles and rolls back its nuclear advance, it may get some American economic and military support but it will throw away the only credible deterrent against India's possible aggression.

It may not be able to withstand for long the Indian military might buttressed as it is by an advanced nuclear weapons technology and may find itself reduced to a secondary status. As for possible international guarantees for its security, Pakistan cannot stake its future on outside assurances which may or may not be available when needed, (given the past experience of its relations with the United States).

Pakistan's firm and clear-eyed stand on the nuclear issue after the cessation of US aid and during Bartholomew's

visit needs to be sustained in the subsequent talks scheduled in January in Washington. Pakistan's consistent projection of its perception of the issue has drawn a helpful response from the Americans in that they now openly recognise the unqualified need for a regional approach to it. India as a result is hard put not to yield to a review of its hitherto held rigid stance. Pakistan's two-plus-three conference proposal too, after its endorsement by the United States, the USSR and China, is beginning to be perceived by India as a possible way out of the deadlock. The recent demonstration of support of the Pakistan resolution at the United Nations by the Soviet Union may also have given a signal to India to see reason and take Pakistani thinking about a nuclear-free South Asia more seriously.

Can Pakistan afford to roll back its nuclear programme to its pre-April 1990 position? Can Pakistan afford not to continue with its march towards an effective nuclear capability? These two questions taken together, constitute the complexity of the dilemma facing Pakistan. One thing is, however, quite clear. It would be a folly of the highest order for us to deprive ourselves of the only effective (potential) deterrent against a wily and vicious neighbour in the hope of a doubtful assurance of protection from distant god-fathers. We live in an uncertain world where to be weak and unprotected in a region of considerable strategic importance is calling for trouble. Perhaps the best bet for Pakistan at this juncture is to work simultaneously on two fronts.

One, to convince the Americans that it is downright unfair and highly discriminatory to target only one country namely, Pakistan, via the Pressler Amendment while no such restrictions apply to Israel and India and particularly the latter which poses a direct threat to Pakistan's security. Unless this blatant and unjust discriminatory restriction is lifted or at least India is subjected to an exactly similar treatment, we just cannot seriously consider any American demand to denuclearise Pakistan. There is substantial moral strength in this stand and the point needs to be persistently driven home at the Capital Hill and in the State Department in Washington. While Pakistan may or may not succeed in persuading the US to accept the validity and righteousness of our case there is nothing to lose in putting unrelenting pressure on them in this behalf. How can the United States on the one hand justify providing increasing military and economic assistance to India, which has already exploded a nuclear device, and on the other hand stop such aid to Pakistan which has yet to test one and is considerably behind India in developing the delivery system.

Two, build up greater pressure for the holding of an India-Pakistan conference on the nuclear issue as proposed by Pakistan under the joint sponsorship of the USA, the USSR and China. Such a conference may not yield a consensus, as India is bound to raise all sorts of objections to various proposals put forward and the matter may drag on for a long time. The conference will, however, provide an excellent opportunity to Pakistan to

present and substantiate its case and air internationally its compulsions and apprehensions. And the subcontinental issue will assume a multi-national dimension with the United States as just one of the participants in the conference.

There is no question of signing the NPT in the meantime. Even if India signs it, Pakistan will have to reckon with the former's existing nuclear capacity which is considerable, with all the attendant implications.

The nuclear issue directly relates to the survival of Pakistan as a sovereign independent state and must be addressed as such, with vision and a sense of conviction, commitment and courage. Inter alia, it will require putting our own house in order and tightening our belts for a better and secure tomorrow.

Trade, Cooperation With Syria To Increase

92AS0375E Karachi DAWN in English 30 Nov 91 p 7

[Text] Islamabad, Nov 29—Minister for Planning and Development Hamid Nasir Chattha has said that bilateral relations between Pakistan and Syria in different fields of life will further enhance with the passage of time and the current visit of the Syrian Minister Sabah Baqijji would be helpful in this direction.

He was talking to the Syrian Minister of Planning and Development who called on him here on Friday. During the meeting they discussed measures to further promote the existing cooperation particularly in the economic field between the two countries. Certain areas for increasing the economic relations were also identified.

Apprising the Syrian Minister about the functioning of Planning Commission, ECNEC [Executive Committee of the National Economic Council] and NEC [National Economic Council], the minister said that the development projects are approved by these bodies at various levels.

The two ministers also discussed the issues relating to the regional situation with particular reference to Middle East.

The Syrian Minister for Planning and Development expressed the confidence that the relations between the two countries would expand and said that he was impressed by the hospitality extended to him during his visit to Pakistan.

The Syrian delegation was led by Dr Sabah Baqijji, Minister of State for Planning Affairs while the Pakistan delegation was led by Mr Sartaj Aziz, Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs. The Commission held one plenary session in which the leaders of both the delegations expressed the desire for further promotion of trade and economic cooperation and agreed to find ways and means for raising the volume of trade and the level of bilateral economic collaboration between the two countries.

The working groups of both sides held detailed discussions for two days and besides reviewing the implementation of the decisions of the first session of the Commission held in 1989 in Damascus, discussed concrete proposals for enhancing cooperation in economic, trade, technical and cultural fields. Both sides reiterated their interest to increase the bilateral trade up to \$10 million per annum, exchanged lists of items of imports and exports for this purpose. They also suggested the need for contacts between the businessmen of the two countries and agreed to participate in the fairs and exhibitions arranged in both the countries.

They also agreed to possible utilisation of foreign trade financing facilities of the Islamic Development Bank. Both sides also agreed to enter into a comprehensive agreement on avoidance of double taxation. Pakistan side agreed to provide the result of Syrian rock phosphate analysis to the Syrian government.

At an early date, Pakistan side indicated its interest for participation in new Syrian projects in the field of cement, steel, fertiliser and cotton yarn. The Syrian side indicated that based on their current visit to Heavy Mechanical Complex collaboration can take place in the field of spare parts for Syrian heavy industries.

Both the sides agreed on the exchange of germ plasm for high-yielding variety of wheat, barley, potato and sugarcane, etc., from Pakistan side while the Syrian side will provide germ plasm for maize, millets, groundnuts, sunflower and cotton seeds, etc.

Both sides also agreed that the next session of the joint commission will be held in Syria next year.—APP.

Regional Affairs

Khan Praised for Assisting Iranian Nuclear Program

92WP0060W Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
14 Oct 91 p 2

[Article by Rafiq Dogra: "Nuclear Technology and Pakistan-U.S. Relations"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The "uncle" and the leader for world peace had recommended for Pakistan a cheap and easy prescription for its defense. Haji Malik Mohammed Qasim, chairman of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], and the Indian newspapers have given the details of this prescription, according to which, the "uncle" says that Pakistan should retract its nuclear program to the level recommended to President Ghulam Ishaq Khan by Ms. Benazir Bhutto. She had explained this to the Western news media and expressed extreme anger and disappointment. The "uncle," in response to it, was going to reinstate military and economic aid to us, and would consider an attack by India on Pakistan as an attack on

the United States of America. The PDA Central President, Haji Malik Qasim, has demanded that we follow-up on the "uncle's" prescription, and has declared it to be essential for our country's interests and defense. Soon after the news about this prescription, Indian newspapers published details of their commander in chief's visit to the United States. Their commander in chief is the same religion as the "uncle." According to these details, it is clear that military cooperation on a large scale will take place between India and the United States. This cooperation includes joint military exercises, planning, and the manufacture of weapons. India will not help the "uncle"; actually, it will be the "uncle" who helps India. We do not know if Haji Qasim has exaggerated the news about this cooperation. The speed with which he called a press conference and emphasized the importance of following up on this prescription makes us think that he is more worried about our defense than the whole country. "Uncle" will sincerely consider an attack on Pakistan as if it were an attack on New York City. He will protect Pakistan, and at the same time, will have large-scale military cooperation with India, will hold joint military exercises, make ammunition, and then fight against India to help us.

Haji Mohammed Malik Qasim, based on his vast experience, can tell that a person cannot have relations with two opposing parties. How can that person fulfill the demands of both parties at the same time? How can he keep them both happy at once? How will the people of Pakistan trust "uncle's" prescription in light of their previous experience with him? This leader of the PDA is ordering us to follow the latest prescription just to make "uncle" happy. Another leader is informing the country about Ghulam Ishaq Khan's conspiracy to upset "uncle." He was briefing a local newspaper and telling them about the world and Pakistan. He expressed more anger and disappointment than his party's leader, and declared that the president of our country sold our nuclear technology during his recent trip to Iran. He said that "uncle" will get angry at this act, and that this anger would not be good for the nation and its people. The president of the PDA is angry at our president, because he has made the United States angry by secretly preparing an atomic bomb. The leaders of the PDA are angry at our president for selling nuclear technology to Iran, and upsetting the "uncle" even more. Haji Qasim, in order to make "uncle" happy, wants to contract our defense out to him and advise us to give up our nuclear preparations. Even if we consider that nuclear technology is just a plant for manufacturing drinks, and that it can be smuggled like scrap from one country to another, there still is the question of why the whole PDA leadership has forgotten its entire past and about Pakistan's nuclear program. Why is it playing the politics of leaving our national defense to the whim of the United States just to make it happy? No politician or member of any political party can support the idea of contracting our national defense out to someone else. No leader who claims to be patriotic will support outside forces rather than his own country and its people. The PDA claims to

have more popular support than any other party. The accusations that the president has made "uncle" angry by making progress in the nuclear area and selling nuclear technology to Iran can be the greatest honor in the Islamic world. He should be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, because peace in Pakistan and the Islamic world depends on it, and not on the happiness of the United States of America.

Iran Praised for Opposing U.S. Goals in Asia

92AS0378F Lahore *THE NATION* in English
23 Nov 91 p 7

[Article by Dr. Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti: "Iran and the Emerging International Order"]

[Text] A series of developments over the past few months have served to highlight the commonality of perceptions and interests between Pakistan and Iran. The quest for a settlement of the Afghan issue clearly requires Iran's participation and support, for there are 1.5 million Afghan refugees on its soil, and the Mujahideen factions headquartered there cannot be ignored. Iran is as much interested as Pakistan if not more so, in the situation emerging in Central Asia with which it shares a common border, Persian is the language spoken in Tajikistan, as well as in substantial areas adjoining that republic in the North and West. Iran also must perforce remain a major player in the Gulf region whose relations with its Arab neighbours, and interaction with the United States and the Soviet Union constitute significant elements in the scenario obtaining there. And Iran's firm commitment to Islamic causes, and its principled opposition to the exercise of hegemony of outside powers coincides with our own perceptions. That Pakistan and Iran face pressures from Washington in several sectors including their nuclear programmes and on their resolve to safeguard their freedom of action in the region gives them a fundamental community of interest.

There has been an unfortunate trend for attention in our media to be focused on certain sectarian aspects of Iranian perceptions. At various times since the Iranian Revolution of 1979, a great deal of interest was aroused by alleged Iranian involvement in Shia-Sunni tensions within Pakistan. More recent manifestations of this trend have been the Ganji Murder Case in Lahore and the accusation of complicity of the Iranian Consulate in Peshawar in the assassination of Lt.-Gen. Fazle Haq. The resultant impression of Iranian involvement in our internal affairs not only depicts a friendly Islamic neighbour in an adverse light but diverts attention from the many vital areas in which Pakistan and Iran share interests and have developed mutually beneficial cooperation.

Iran is the one country that has spoken out unequivocally in support of the struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for self-determination. The Iranian leadership and Press also remain an exception in taking frequent note of the plight of the Muslim minority in

India which is constantly exposed to victimisation and the violation of its basic human rights at the hands of militant Hindu groups. On the positive side, Iran has been steadfast in seeking to promote greater unity and cohesion within the Islamic world. Consequently it is imperative that there should be an awareness in Pakistan of this important neighbour with which we also enjoy longstanding and wide-ranging cultural and economic ties. Our upcoming younger generation is not adequately aware of the impact of Persian literature and art on our culture since they are not as exposed to the classics written by Sadi, Hafiz and Firdausi as their parents or grandparents were. As the vogue for studying Persian in schools and colleges has declined, there has been a corresponding regrettable loss of interaction and mutual regard. Both official and private organisations need to do more to preserve and promote Pakistan-Iran cordiality and cooperation and an important element in this would be to infuse new life into institutions designed to foster a better knowledge of Iran.

By its location, size, resource base, and historical traditions, Iran is destined to remain a country of critical importance in the West Asian region in the context of the new international order that is emerging. Iran is twice the size of Pakistan, and its population of 53 million out-numbers the combined population of all its Arab neighbours. The scenario that has emerged in West Asia after the Gulf war of 1991 is characterised by the paramountcy of the United States which, while becoming the main protector and guarantor of the Arab countries of the Gulf, is tailoring its long-term goals to containing the alleged threat from Islamic fundamentalism. Had the New World Order conjured up by President Bush to justify the formidable coalition against Iraq remained wedded to the UN Charter, and to a fair and non-discriminatory approach to regional problems, we would have been on threshold of a golden age when lofty principles would be not only propounded but also practised. In reality, it did not take long for the US attitude and policies to regress to the post-World War II goals of establishing its hegemony and preserving an economic order that favours the rich developed nations. The current perceptions of the United States are far less mindful of the rights and interests of smaller regional countries than they were when a balance of power existed in the globe on account of the competition between two Superpowers.

The US goals in West Asia are related to the traditional American commitment to Israel and to a determination to deny modern technology and sophisticated weapons to regional countries (basically the Muslim countries) that could pose a threat to Israel or the US interests. India is now emerging as a partner in the US objectives despite the fact that it continues to flout the UN Resolutions on Kashmir and has far less than admirable record on safeguarding human rights within its own territory. Pakistan and Iran, on the other hand, are singled out for pressure, Pakistan for its alleged nuclear ambitions and Iran for standing firm on the sovereign

right of the regional countries to organise their affairs. The emerging Pax Americana is inclined to view India as a supporter and Pakistan, Iran and China as potential threats or adversaries.

Iran's geo-strategic location confers on its exceptional importance in the emerging scenario in West Asia in general and the Gulf region in particular. It also borders not only Azerbaijan and Armenia in the Caucasus and Turkmenistan in Soviet Central Asia, but also Afghanistan and Pakistan, thus interacting with the major regions of Central and South Asia. The United States, which had built up Iran prior to the Islamic Revolution of 1979 as the regional gendarme is acutely conscious of the role that Tehran can play in the future. As many highly educated Iranian professionals who fled the country after the Islamic Revolution return, they may contribute towards greater awareness of the international potential of their country. Furthermore, as Iran recovers from the colossal damage its human and material resources suffered during the nine years of its war with Iraq, it is bound to play a more active role in regional and international affairs.

Iran's potential to influence trends and developments in a number of regions is bound to be stressed increasingly on account of the traditional pride its citizens take in their rich historical heritage. The Revolution of 1979 appeared, in the initial stages, to have turned the focus of national energies inwards, particularly as the United States and the West managed to isolate Iran. This trend was accentuated on account of the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war in September 1980 which, instead of precipitating an internal collapse in Iran as was anticipated by Saddam Hussayn, reinforced national unity in the face of external aggression. Later, when the Iraqi strongman occupied Kuwait in August 1990 and thereby aroused a global response that rallied the combined military might of most of the world against him under the leadership of the same United States that had helped built-up his power to "contain" the threat from the Islamic Revolution, Iran's crucial position and relevance to the emerging scenario was realised all over the world.

The current situation is that the two regions in which the most far-reaching changes are taking place in our globe are located close to Iran.

Following the American-led military victory over Iraq, the region of the Persian Gulf and Middle East, that is collectively described as West Asia, is in the process of interacting more actively with the rest of the world in several ways. Containing nearly two-thirds of the globe's oil reserves, it will remain crucial to the economies of the developed world, so that not only the United States, but Europe and Japan also have a major stake in the assured supply of this vital raw material. Iran is a major producer and can also affect the attitudes of other producers within OPEC. The future security set up in the Gulf region will also be significantly influenced by Iranian policies and goals. The current US effort to maintain its dominant position has already drawn a reaction in the

shape of the demand for Gulf security to be shaped by the countries of the region, which is being orchestrated by Iran. Over a period of time, Iran's perceptions may gain it extensive popular support within the countries of the Gulf.

The other region which is in a state of flux is the Soviet Union, two of whose republics border on Iran. The main feature of the ongoing changes there is the break-up of the Union into its constituent republics which are seeking to exercise much greater autonomy in both their domestic and foreign affairs. The six Muslim republics are likely to be responsive to moves by Iran to forge closer links with them.

It may be recalled that Iran offered to play host to a gathering in Tehran of the leaders of the Islamic republics, several of whom have already shown interest in joining the Economic Cooperation Organisation, that consists of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, as well as the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. Given the historical and cultural links between Iran and these republics and Iran's critical location for providing a shorter route to the sea to Central Asia, there can be no doubt that Iran will figure significantly in developments pertaining to the emerging scenario in the Soviet Union and in Central Asia in particular.

Iran also possesses the wherewithal economically to back-up a political role it may seek in West Asia. Unlike most oil-producing countries of the region, which are dependent solely on oil, Iran has a broader resource base on account of its agricultural sector and non-oil mineral resources. By 1989-90, Iran's non-oil exports reached a figure of \$1.4 billion which is capable of further expansion. No wonder many Western countries would like to expand their economic and technical cooperation with Iran. Indeed, it may not be long before the United States also takes steps to normalise its relations with Tehran and to unfreeze the considerable Iranian assets that were blocked after the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

It is significant that Saudi Arabia, which is the major country among the Arab states on the Gulf (besides Iraq) has taken initiatives to improve its ties with Iran, even though an element of rivalry between Tehran and Riyadh may persist.

For Pakistan, facing a continuing threat from an India where Hindu chauvinism has gained strength, good relations with Iran remain a major necessity. Given Iran's pivotal position with regard to the region of the world undergoing the most far-reaching changes, we should accord a high priority to cementing our brotherly ties and promoting wide-ranging cooperation with Iran. There is need to keep sectarian issues which are given exaggerated importance by some circles within their proper place and to take cognizance of the vital role a friendly Iran can play with regard to both our security and economic development. Furthermore, in tackling critical issues such as Afghanistan, the future interaction with the Central Asian republics and the response to the

changed US perceptions, it would be in our interest to act in concert with Iran. For this we should not only maintain high-level bilateral contacts, such as through the visit of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, but also seek to expand our cooperation within the scope of ECO [Economic Cooperation Organization] and OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference].

'Agreement' With Iran Analyzed

92AS0115A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 20 Sep 91
pp 5,7

[Article by Dr. Mohammed Niaz: "Pakistani-Iranian 'Agreement'"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and President Ali Akbar Hashmi Rafsanjani have expressed agreement after their recent meeting that "Islamic" nations must work toward more cooperation to meet the challenges of the present world. They said that all nations should cooperate with each other to avoid being controlled by the new world order.

Let us examine the words and phrases of this "agreement." After reading between the lines, we find some very interesting points. For example,

(1) Instead of using phrases such as "Islamic world" or "the Islamic people," they have used the term "Islamic nation," which is a new expression; (2) Instead of saying outright, "the new world order of the United States," they have said "the new challenges of the present world";

(3) Instead of saying "mutual relations" or "love among Muslims," they have said "more cooperation."

There may appear to be too much of an emphasis on words and phrases. As for the hidden meanings behind these words and phrases, it is clear that regardless of whatever the background of this agreement, both Pakistan and Iran, with their Islamic democracies, are allergic to the new world order. This announcement is a result of this "allergy" and is an open admission about their defense positions. In addition to making this announcement, the two "Islamic nations" want to maintain their Islamic identity according to their own perspectives, but also keep their Iranian or Pakistani identities. The agreement that has emerged with these restrictions makes us wonder if it has the clout and impression that is necessary to persuade Islamic countries to work productively to counter the new world order of the United States and its aggressive designs.

The United States has become a single superpower now. The "superpower" of the Soviet Union was devoured by the Afghan mujaheddin. The Soviet Union cannot even look into the eyes of the United States and talk back. Instead, it has become a country that obeys and worships the United States. Meanwhile, the East European countries, first because of glorious hopes and now because of fear and terrorism, have already accepted their roles as slaves to the United States. In such a situation, any

country that considers its wealth, arsenal, and army to be everything would naturally be spoiled and begin to consider itself invincible. Such a country goes crazy with power and gets busy in showing off its prowess. No wonder the United States has already started such a "show." It would be wrong to think that Mr. Bush's new world order drama has started now. The truth is that this drama started a long time ago and is still playing successfully. It has already won many battles. If we include small and large victories, the list is very long. Among the political victories, in addition to the defeat of the Soviets, it has destroyed Iran and Iraq through war. The United States used the Kuwaiti-Iraqi war to further weaken Iraq, make Kuwait poor, and give Saudi Arabia a taste of poverty. All these are parts of the same, but very effective, chain of events. In its other victories, it has tried to convert the whole world into U.S. culture and civilization. Its successful efforts include the use of radio, television, commercial newspapers and journals, and family planning campaigns in these "Islamic nations" and their rulers, organizations, and Muslim personalities to Americanize them. It has spread sexual permissiveness, obscenity, and has tried to play the game of reducing the number of Muslims and have the government and the people fight among themselves, using racial and communal groups. The purpose of all this drama is to make Muslims weaker and weaker. The U.S. family planning game was planned with the support of the principal of the famous Islamic educational institution, Jama Azhar, and Islamic scholars. However, the whole country ignored the Jama Azhar's efforts, which was started with under-the-table money from the United States. The scholars of the Jama Azhar have decided that this plan is totally anti-Islamic. When it was disappointed in this game, it limited it to the "Islamic nation." Thus, this game is still going on because of the so-called "Islamic nations" and their Westernized and unprincipled rulers. Their secular type of radio, television, and commercial newspapers and journals play an important role in this effort.

Thus, be it deception or fraud or the cover for spreading atrocities, the scientifically planned U.S. campaign to establish the new world order and control over the world has been in effect for a long time. If we look closely, we find that the real target of the new world order is the Muslim world. The United States did not have any problem in changing the ideology and basic principles in the non-Muslim nations of East Europe. Their culture and civilization is the same as that of the United States. The United States and all East European countries share culture and religion. Their sexual permissiveness, obscenity, and loose morals are similar. The problem of having the East European nations to function as its slave because of its superior political power was solved by itself. We have observed it not only in Iraq, but also in Kuwait, during the Kuwaiti-Iraqi war. Now the United States does not have to use the excuse of defending another Kuwait; it will use open aggression to attain its goals. East Europe's acceptance of U.S. "slavery" or U.S. worship was evident even before the Iraqi-U.S. war. We

should remember that when the Islamic democracy of Pakistan signed a pact with France to purchase a reprocessing plant. France, which agreed to sell this plant to Pakistan, had to withdraw from its promise. This happened because of the U.S. new world order. In light of this development, just think about what is left for the United States to do in any of its "fan" or "slave" nations. All that remains to be done is in the Muslim world, where the rulers and the people disagree with each other. The situation is in favor of the United States. The top leadership of the Islamic democracies of Pakistan and Iran have listed some "Islamic steps" in their pact. All the nations listed in these are nations where the people have suffered through problems, insults, physical injuries, depressions, murders, etc. from their rulers. The sly people in these countries took advantage of the unstable situation caused by foreign powers to come to power in their countries. They are worshiping those foreign powers to maintain and protect their positions. They can think of nothing else but this worship. They do not have any time to think of how their nation can benefit by their action, or about what kind of policies can help their unfortunate nations. When they want to win an election, they bring up issues smaller than an ant's leg, but as soon as they sit in the chair of power, they cannot even see murders and massacres being committed groups and sects, much less the murder of a single person. In each of these "Islamic nations," the government and the opposition continue a fierce battle between them. These battles also show the mysterious hand of foreign powers. The struggle is present in all Islamic countries between people and groups from bloodshed to the destruction of property to prejudice, instigation, and the writing of slogans based on Kalashnikov culture. However, in this scary war between the government and the opposition, the people or the "Islamic nation," and all of their problems are forced into the background. This includes hate for each other and the problem of raising slogans. All we see is the war between the government and the opposition. The question arises: The people who are busy in this scary war of power cannot even solve the problem of violence in their nation, city, village, a field, a garden, a home, a lane, or a path; they cannot even stop the injustice, atrocities, torture, murder, or destruction; how can they put new life into the "Islamic nation," let alone the whole world, to face new challenges and have more "cooperation"? Until now, most of the Islamic countries have not faced any internal or external challenge. These rulers, whose governments are known as "democratic," have not done anything either. Does it mean that the increased cooperation between Islamic nations means just an agreement between the presidents of two nations?

Qazi Hussein Ahmed, president of Jamaat-i Islami, is correct in saying that "those rulers who believe in government for the sake of government have not done any welfare work for the Muslim people in Islamic countries, and will never be able to succeed in it. The only way they can succeed in achieving such goals is by cooperating with the Islamic organizations in those

countries. It is the duty of Islamic organizations in every country that they at least cooperate among themselves. This duty is not limited to the borders of a country, but across it, wherever an Islamic movement is taking place. The people in another country would become stronger by association with another Islamic campaign. In this context, it is the duty of the leaders of various movements to give up the habit of focusing on trifles, as defined by Mulana Iltaf Hussein Halile, in his sarcastic couplet.

"There is not beard or moustache. The trousers are not longer either!

Forming a party on the basis of scholarship by giving too much importance to it, putting the toothbrush in one's pocket, forming a political party on the basis of it, and forming a group by embarrassing history—all these "hobbies" are harming the Muslim people. After all, the Muslim brothers belonging to different parties, groups, and communities consider themselves as part of the Muslim brotherhood. They can have disagreements on various issues, but they cannot break ties to each other. Instead, in order to bravely face the challenges of anti-Islamic forces, they unite to face the anti-Islamic forces. If there are some leaders of the Muslim nations who do not care for the Muslims, those nations should sincerely enable themselves to face the new challenges. It is the duty of these leaders to establish a pure Islamic form of government in their countries and cooperate with the religious movement there. They should not oppose or ignore these movements. Instead, they should establish relationships of sincerity and love with them. If there are problems hindering the progress of these movements, then they should use their God-given powers to remove the hurdles from their path. It is sad to see that there are several countries where the leaders, instead of providing support to Islamic movements, create problems for them, and force enemies upon them.

Alliance With Iran, China Foreseen

Opposing New World Order

92AS0266A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 30 Oct 91
p 4

[Editorial: "New World Order: Need for Regional Defense"]

[Text] The Chinese president, who is visiting Pakistan now, said in a TV interview, "We are Asians and want to start a new international order, working closely with Pakistan." The U.S. CIA has also expressed the opinion that "the team that accompanied the Chinese president to Pakistan is going to discuss a three-party defense system." It is difficult to say at this point who is doing what against the U.S. new world order. However, it is a fact that everywhere in the world, people are wondering about a new world order in which the United States will have political and economic supremacy and how can other countries protect their interests by forming blocs or joining a group? It is not necessary that such blocs be

created on the basis of enmity, opposition, and prejudice against the United States. The emergence of new power bases is a natural process, and Pakistan, China, and Iran are all thinking along the same line and are discussing various possibilities. India has traditionally been a power in this region. It had Soviet support in the past, and now the United States has adopted it. India is Pakistan's enemy, and has traditionally been at odds with China; therefore, it is important to create a new power bloc to control India, the U.S. lackey and policeman for this region. It is not difficult for China and Pakistan to cooperate, since China has been a very proud neighbor of Pakistan. Both countries have proved to be good friends in every phase of their friendship. China is the only communist and socialist state that has not let its ideology get in the way of its friendship with Pakistan and other Islamic countries. It has neither tried to impose its ideology on Pakistan, nor attempted to interfere in Pakistan's affairs in any way. Pakistan and Iran are also tied by friendly relations. There is no reason to believe that they cannot form a strong power bloc if they refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs. China is willing to go along with its two neighbors because it knows that the United States considers it a communist and socialist power, despite all the promises of friendship. Two years ago, during the student demonstrations in Beijing, the U.S. Government, its people, and its news media had tried to give these demonstrations a "revolutionary" appearance. This reveals the hidden desires of the United States. After the fall of the Soviet Union, China would be the main target for the United States. Its efforts to tighten its watch over Pakistan and China shows that it wishes to use India to hurt Pakistan. China has one of its critical routes protected because of Pakistan, which has given China access to its "silk route." This way, anything that harms Pakistan will also harm China. Keeping in view these dangers and fears, discussion among the leaders of China, Pakistan, and Iran is an important need of the time and situation. It is the duty of Pakistan to cooperate with its friends and allies in order to protect its interests, so that a regional system is in place to protect itself from the U.S. world order.

Mutual Defense Pact

92AS00226B Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 15 Oct 91
pp 3, 5

[Article by Anjam Khokhar: "Increasing Hatred Against the United States of America"]

[Text] Even though, after the end of the Cold war, the fall of the Soviet leadership, and the victory of the Gulf war, the United States has become the most powerful nation in the world, it has openly begun to interfere in the region where it did not dare to interfere in the past. After vanquishing Iraq and destroying its military power, the U.S. armed forces have become very bold. The economic recession prevalent in the United States is improving now, according to a report. The Gulf war only cost \$31.45 billion, while the United States has already

received \$54 billion from its allies. The money given by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait is in addition to that. It is an open secret that the United States created this situation on purpose to establish itself in the Gulf and to strengthen its economy. All this has resulted in the destruction of Iraq and the United States has greatly benefited from this campaign.

1. The American armed forces, which had been hurt because of the Vietnam war, have regained their morale.
2. The U. S. economy, which was deteriorating rapidly, has been stabilized, benefited by billions of dollars, and it has become a permanent partner in Saudi Arabia's and Kuwait's oil production. Its economy will not be challenged for at least half a century.
3. After destroying the emerging Iraqi military power, it has made Israel a king without a crown in the Arab region. All the munitions and weapons salvaged from the Gulf war have been given to Israel. This way, after giving an indication of a permanent fear, the Arabs are being forced into agreement talks with Israel.
4. The United States has succeeded in increasing differences among Islamic countries as a result of the Gulf war to an extent that Muslims are not united on any issue.
5. The United States has managed to unite the Soviet Union, China, Great Britain, France, and other countries against Iraq on the pretext of world peace. It has managed to pass numerous resolutions against Iraq in the U.N. Security Council. The Soviet Union and China, who obviously oppose this, are forced to agree with the United States.
6. The United States started to impose restrictions against Pakistan during the Gulf war. It wanted Pakistan to suspend its nuclear program; otherwise, Pakistan would face the same fate as Iraq. Originally, because of the policy adopted by the Pakistani Government, hatred toward Iraq and other Arab countries increased among the Pakistani people. As a result, while Kashmir has burned in a war for the last two years, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have not issued even one statement in support of the people in Kashmir. Meanwhile, we had staked everything for their support.
7. The United States is busy doing whatever it wants in the world. The U. S. preference has changed in Africa, the Middle East, and this subcontinent. It is ignoring the millions of Africans and their interests in South Africa and is favoring the white minority, showering them with all kinds of gifts. In the Arab countries, it is ignoring the feelings of millions of Muslims and is threatening peace and ignoring international laws just for the sake of Israel. Because of its preference, Israel has the full freedom to make all kinds of nuclear weapons and shower rockets over hungry and unclothed citizens. Opposed to this, if an Arab country even raises its head, it is crushed immediately.

This policy of dichotomy unmasks the American mentality. The attitude of the U.S. in the subcontinent is also one-sided and biased. It provides all kinds of assistance and cooperation to India to make it the most powerful nation in this region. India, which blasted an atomic bomb in 1974, has 11 nuclear reactors, and is busy preparing nuclear weapons around the clock, is still opposed to making this region a "nuclear-free zone." India also has nuclear submarines and antitank missiles. Its soldiers are committing atrocities against innocent and unarmed Kashmiris. However, the United States is silent about this. Its human sympathy and international rules are all silent here. But when Pakistan wants to implement its peaceful nuclear program to protect its autonomy and to improve its agriculture and economy, the U.S. Government, aided by its Jew bosses, raises a hew and cry. Pakistan's friendship, which at times was a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy, is ignored, and all aid to it is stopped. In the whole world, especially in Third World countries, this one-sided face of the United States is being unmasked. Perhaps the governments of these countries may succeed in quieting its people and may let U.S. dominance flourish. The billions of hungry and unclothed people of the Third World have recognized the real face of the United States of America. This identity will give birth to hatred of the United States worldwide. It would be the same kind of hatred expressed in East European countries last year, which destroyed 70 years of government systems in seconds. The situation and feelings are pointing to the fact that the United States is insulting people all over the world just to protect some of its lackeys. It does not hesitate to kill millions of people just to protect its interests. Its rules and principles are formed just to protect the Jewish agenda. However, all this will not last much longer. The rage among the people of Africa is smoldering like lava, and it can erupt at any time and will burn the U. S.-supported white minority government along with its bosses. The people and the educated youth in the Middle East are changing very fast. They have witnessed the destruction of Iraq with their own eyes. They will not tolerate American military bases in their countries any more. Their fear is fading now, and the lava of hate against the United States is burning within them. Thus, the Arab rulers must change their present policy, or the people will choose to change their governments, which have not provided protection to anyone except the United States of America.

The real face of the United States is emerging in this subcontinent also. Its features are taking shape, and hatred for the United States is increasing among the people. The feeling is becoming stronger in the countries of the subcontinent that the United States is opposed to peace in this region. It has always sabotaged efforts to solve the Kashmir issue by talks. It was involved behind the scenes in the assassinations of Indira Gandhi, Bhutto, and now, Rajiv Gandhi. It wants to keep this region unbalanced so that its weapons can be stockpiled here. It wants to wipe up all the wealth of this region and leave the millions of people to knock at the doors of the

U.S. for food and clothes. This feeling is becoming stronger and people are awakening. This is causing a feeling of insecurity among the people of Pakistan and India. People here know that if the difference between these two countries are solved through peaceful talks, that there may be peace in this region, and it will then become prosperous so that people can live happily here.

It appears that the United States, after getting its foot in the Gulf and the withdrawal of the Soviet Union into the background, has started to consider itself as the only lion in the jungle. However, political development in the future will give birth to hatred toward it. The people of the world have started to become aware of the actions of the U.S. now. Thus, China is one country in Asia that will lead in this new emotion and in the awakening of the people. Cooperation between China and Japan will rise in the political horizon in the future. The Soviet Union has temporarily accepted defeat in order to recover from its economic catastrophes. It still has the power and capability to stop the United States. The United States managed to take over billions of dollars from its own allies during the Gulf war. The European countries will think about this tomorrow, if not today. Why, and for what reason, should they be instruments for helping protect American interests?

It appears that most of the world is facing major changes with the arrival of the new century. The United States will obviously keep spreading its "feet," and other nations will hate it more and more. All this will result in revolts, bloody revolutions, and the open reaction of the people against the United States of America. At this time, the United States is trying to control the effects of the Iranian revolution in Arab countries. Because this influence was detrimental to U.S. caretaker governments in this region, the United States has destroyed Iraq's military might. However, this destruction will not protect the United States from the wave of the peoples' hatred. This hatred is slowly raging in the hearts of the people in this area, and will become a smoldering lava.

It is a fact that all aggressors and self-appointed "God's agent" -types of rulers think that they can make the whole world obey them by force and by taking their wealth. They are successful in this effort for a short period; however, they do not realize that there is a God above them, whose soundless stave can crush the heads of such rulers at any time. At this time, the American society is suffering from defeat and depravity. This society is drowning in the mire of shamelessness, crime, and sins. It wants to get out of this quicksand. American society, which looks so beautiful, attractive, and stable from a distance, is totally decayed from within. There are cracks in its walls now. The youth there is wayward; it is using drugs, selling bodies, involving itself in crimes, leading sinful lives, and is wholly disappointed as a result. A new group of people is taking shape there. They have become a challenge to the U.S. Government. The American economy is deteriorating because of its involvement in luxuries and self-indulgence. The United States of America played with blood in the Gulf in order

to help its economy. It is asking for assistance from Japan and is forcing the Soviet Union to reduce its expenses on scientific research. The United States knows well that 80 percent of its economy is dependent on foreign and Arab capital, which has been invested in American banks for many years. If Islamic countries were to establish a separate bank and withdraw all their investments from American banks, India and Pakistan were to resolve their problems by having bilateral talks, and Arab countries united and recognized Israel and it vacated the occupied areas, then where would the United States be? Its ordinance factories, which earn billions of dollars every year from other countries, would become idle. Its banks, which distribute money all over the world, would be begging money from abroad. But the United States will not let this happen easily. Like a wounded lion, it will not deter from destroying the world. The writing on the wall is clear: the sun over the United States of America is going to set soon. We can see the red color and darkness emerging on the horizon. The next century will definitely be the century in which the Third World countries will awaken. The people will become more knowledgeable. All the statues representing dictatorships and colonialism will be destroyed during this century. It is the duty of the Third World and all the developing countries to pool their resources. If the Islamic countries are united and organized, then U.S. and Israeli politics will become ineffective. It is a difficult task, but it is not impossible. The elephant looks huge and scary, and the hunter is afraid to fire at it. However, the elephant also has its weak areas, where even if an ant bites it, it will die. The United States must have a weak spot, and that is its desire for the nations of the world to fight among themselves and remain busy with their disagreements. If the backward nations understand this weakness of the United States and unite to fight against it, then the next century will definitely bring peace and prosperity to people in these countries. The U.S. Government should also try to sow the seeds of love, rather than of hate, in various countries.

Mutual Treaty Urged

92AS226C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 22 Oct 91 p 5

[Editorial: "Alliance Among Pakistan, Iran, and China"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the main purpose of the U.S. new world order and its closer relationship with the Soviet Union is to establish a military and economic siege around Iran, Pakistan, and China. The main reason is for this is that these three countries can be instrumental in hindering the ambitions of the United States of America, the Soviet Union, and their Western allies. These three nations, instead of becoming instruments in the hands of superpowers, are following the path of self-sufficiency and independence. These countries are also very important because of their geographical location. Therefore, it is natural that these countries are considered to be a cause of concern in the new world order. It is important that Iran, Pakistan, and China establish some kind of defense pact to counter this

danger. If one of these countries is attacked, then the three can face danger as a group. Therefore, the information regarding an agreement between the three countries to have a defense contract appears to be correct. No formal contract will be signed; however, as part of this agreement, an attack on one country will be considered as an attack on them all.

In spite of the fact that no government-level information has been released in this context, we cannot rule out the possibility of such a defense agreement. China has already expressed its reaction against the new world order. China made it clear from the very beginning that if the United States tried to establish its self-styled new world order as the only superpower in the world, then China would oppose it. Iran and Pakistan had also expressed some concerns about the new world order at the same time. In the days that followed, important leaders of Pakistan, China, and Iran visited and met in Islamabad, Beijing, and Tehran. These three countries have rejected the latest U.S. accusation that China is supplying nuclear technology to Pakistan and Iran. As far as the United States is concerned, one thing is clear—that it will accelerate its plans to implement the new world order after the Middle East peace conference. Therefore, it is important that the three nations—Pakistan, China, and Iran—do not delay in implementing their joint defense plan.

China Said To Lead Fight Against 'New World Order'

Government Should Encourage China

92AS0286A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 28 Oct 91 p 3

[Editorial: "Chinese President's Advice"]

[Text] Mr. Yang Shang Kun, the Chinese president, has stressed to Third World countries that they improve their capabilities, improve mutual relations, and try to establish economic and political coalitions in order to meet the serious challenges they are facing. He offered China's help to Third World countries along with Pakistan to counter the establishment of the new world order.

The respected president of China is currently visiting Pakistan. China is such a sincere friend of Pakistan that has passed every difficult test. It has always stood by Pakistan and has never demanded anything in return. It did not turn its back like our other friend the United States of America or threaten to stop aid to us every hour. At this time, China has become a major power, along with the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Now that the Soviet Union has bowed down to the United States and lost its title as a superpower, only China has the power to stop the United States from acting at will. Most of the Third World countries, including Pakistan, are concerned about the U.S. new world order. Even though the Pakistani Government is ambiguous about it—sometimes it praises it and other times it expresses concerns about it—the people have no

misgivings about the ambitions of the U.S. and its new world order. In this situation, smaller countries must unite in order to protect their existence. The Chinese president himself has advised that the Third World countries form their own world order to face the serious challenges. China will give full cooperation to them. This is a golden opportunity and we should not miss it. The Chinese president has included Pakistan in his plan. The truth is that Pakistan would be hurt most because of the new world order. Therefore, it should think about strong security measures right now.

At this time, Pakistan's president gave full details of the problems that Third World countries, particularly Islamic countries, were facing. Referring to the new world order, he said that the security of small nations was in danger, and that defense coalitions were being established all over the world. The new world order can be the blueprint of a new world only if it is based on equality, justice, and progress. Most of all, it should reflect the desires of all of humanity, rather than those of a small group of nations. The president expressed great concerns over the barbaric atrocities being committed in occupied Kashmir, and also mentioned the problems in Afghanistan and Palestine. The world order proposed by the United States of America obviously will not provide justice to Kashmir, Afghanistan, or the Middle East. The United States always tries to protect its interests in every region. In this situation, we are asking the Third World countries, especially Pakistan, to cooperate with China. These countries should unite to establish another world order. Pakistan should show leadership in this effort, because that is how it can continue to exist.

Iran, Arab States To Join Fight

92AS0286B Karachi JANG in Urdu 11 Nov 91 p 3

[Editorial: "Goals of the New U.S. Ambassador"]

[Text] Mr. Nicholas Platt, the new U.S. ambassador in Pakistan, has said that he will try his best to improve relations between Pakistan and the United States of America. He did not answer a question about reinstating U.S. military aid to Pakistan. The cooling of the friendship between Pakistan and the United States of America during the 1965 war was at the behest of the United States. Soviet interference in Afghanistan stopped only when the United States saw it beneficial to it. The United States helped Pakistan because of its own interests. It has adopted a cold attitude towards Pakistan after it established friendly relations with the Soviet Union. The former U.S. ambassador has clearly indicated that Pakistan has no room in the new world order, and that it is not important to the United States of America any more. The U.S. decision to stop military and economic aid to Pakistan is proof of its ambitions. Admiral Iftikhar Ahmed Sarohi, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has appropriately advised that we quietly accelerate our efforts to make weapons. He said that "according to a survey of our armed forces, we are in great need of modern weapons. By the grace of God, Pakistan does

not lack human resources. All we need are natural resources. If we establish relations with China, Iran, and Arab nations, then we can fulfill our need for capital and technology."

China Selling Advanced Technology

92AS0286C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 27 Oct 91
pp 3, 6

[News Report: "China Sold Artillery Technology to Pakistan"]

[Text] Washington (Monitoring Desk)—The Voice of America (VOA) said in its reports about Chinese President Yang Shang Kun's five-day visit to Pakistan that his talks with Pakistani officials will focus on military and economic cooperation. The Chinese president's visit is being viewed in the context of Pakistan's efforts to get more aid from China in order to fill the vacuum created by the termination of U.S. aid last year. The United States stopped aid to Pakistan because of its suspicion that Pakistan is making nuclear weapons. Pakistan has denied having the capability to do so, and has said that its nuclear program is for peaceful purposes. According to the VOA, the talks to be held between Ghulam Ishaq Khan and other officials with the Chinese president will include such issues as nuclear weapons. Referring to the Chinese president, it was said that China considers Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's proposal to keep South Asia nuclear-free to be a solid step. The VOA correspondent said from Islamabad that the Chinese president stated that not only would there be an improvement of the traditional friendship during his visit, but also that peace and stability would be improved in Asia, especially in South Asia.

He supported Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's proposal to keep south Asia free of nuclear weapons. Included in the 45-member deputation that accompanied the Chinese president are the deputy prime minister and the deputy ministers of foreign affairs and foreign trade. Pakistani sources are giving a lot of importance to the negotiating talks with the Chinese deputation. President Ishaq said at the Islamabad airport that he considered the Chinese president's visit very important, and added that all kinds of regional issues would be discussed. According to the VOA, important agreements will be signed during this visit. One agreement is about Chinese economic aid to Pakistan and another concerns help for Afghan refugees. China had approved an \$84 million loan to Pakistan for improving Balochistan mines of copper and gold during President Ishaq's visit to China. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said after his return to China last February that China was willing to transfer defense technology to Pakistan. At this time, provisions for a nuclear power plant by China was also discussed. The spokesman for heavy industry in Pakistan said last July that China had sold artillery technology to Pakistan for \$20 million. Thus, Pakistan has started making 125- and 155-millimeter cannons in the Heavy Mechanical Complex. China has also helped in the design of a modern heavy

tank model for Pakistan. Gradually, this tank will be produced entirely in Pakistan. President Yang Shang Kan is the second Chinese president to visit Pakistan. Before him, President Li Yuan visited Pakistan in 1984.

Alliance Among Central Asian States Termed 'Unavoidable'

92AS0115B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 20 Sep 91 p 5

[Article by Abdul Karim Abid: "West Asian Muslim States' Alliance Unavoidable"]

[Text] Lenin said about the czars' empire that it is a "prison for countries." The socialist revolution was aimed at eliminating this prison. This policy received momentum during the socialist era. Now in all of his republics, instead of their original and indigenous populations, have people of other races who look to the central government instead of supporting the state. The situation in Kazakhstan is so bad that Kazakhs have become a minority there. Now Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, is demanding that a Russian represent the Kazakhstan republic in the Cabinet. The Russians and Kazakhs are of almost equal number in Kazakhstan. The leader of this republic, Nasurallah Khan, is an associate of Boris Yeltsin; however, even he complains that Mr. Yeltsin has a chauvinist attitude and wants a lot of power for himself. Other republics are also worried now that the strong Yeltsin will replace the weak Gorbachev as the new symbol of Moscow's imperialism. Mr. Gorbachev is also trying to take advantage of this fear. He has tried to make a politician from Georgia the new vice president. One major problem is that of the economy, which was controlled in the former government by making each republic dependent on the other republics. For example, one republic might make bicycle frames, another tires, the third spokes for the wheels, and the fourth would assemble the bicycles. The whole economy was built following this system. The Baltic states were the most independent. However, its situation is no better because the military parts manufactured here in the machine tool factories are consumed in Moscow. The fuel and raw materials for these parts is imported from far-flung Russian republics. We can understand, based on this information, that the Baltic states made the "prison walls" even higher, and that the new administrators of the prison proved to be even more atrocious. However, as the saying goes, "Moses is born in every Pharaoh's home," and in the Pharaoh house of the Russian Federation, Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin, and other reformers were born. A new situation was then created. If these reformers had not raised their heads within the Soviet administration, then none of the Soviet states would have risen against the Soviet Union. The puppet rulers of these republics acted on Moscow's orders like lifeless robots. When a military coup took place against Gorbachev, these leaders closed their eyes and gave statements in support of this coup. It was especially true in the Muslim republics of central Asia, where the so-called elected communist rulers gave their loyal support to the military and the new KGB bosses. However,

after the new developments, these old pawns have become useless, even though have tried to change their former rulers by declaring independence. However, the people of central Asia do not consider these leaders to be symbols of independence, because they were involved in crushing independence efforts by changing their stand in the past. They know well that they are slaves of Moscow, that they are part of the conspiracy, and that they have established a supporting government with Moscow's blessing. Their corrupt activities had reached new extremes. Now the real leadership of the Muslims in west Asia will emerge, and they will get Islamic slogans from their people. Meanwhile, the present rulers are trying to become the champions of independence and maintain their puppet regimes. The president of Tadzhikistan has resigned because the Parliament had passed a no-confidence motion against him. He was accused of not supporting Gorbachev during the military coup. Also, when in February 1990, the people demonstrated in support of independence, he tried to crush their efforts. One other special development was that even the faithful communists made speeches against the president with great zeal. This can give a good insight into the political atmosphere there. The same thing happened in other central Asian republics. Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan are all demanding independence. However, they also know that they cannot survive alone, and that they need a central government. Both Gorbachev and Yeltsin are presenting their ideas of a central government to these republics. They both claim that a loose federation can be established by mutual agreement. As for the Baltic republics, their independence is a foregone conclusion. However, not only Gorbachev and Yeltsin, but the West also is pressuring the other republics to maintain a federation of some kind. Mr. Yeltsin has also threatened that if a federation is not formed, he will raise the question of rezoning various republics, because there is a large number of Russian citizens in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan that cannot be left to anyone's mercy. This threat made these republics very angry. However, this problem has been solved by talks. Both the Ukraine and Kazakhstan are emphasizing their independent status. They believe that these agreements are for administrating issues of mutual interest. They demand that there be no new union, since the union has ended. However, even after announcing their independence, these republics will have to face many problems to realize their dream. The first problem is the people of other races settled here during the Czar regime. They need \$3 billion immediately, which the West will provide. However, the situation in the Baltic is different. Other Soviet republics cannot get international aid. The Ukraine is very progressive in the areas of agriculture and industry. This republic produces one-fourth of the Soviet food grain. However, there are no facilities for storing grains in the Ukraine. These are located in other republics. These grain storage facilities are located mostly in Moscow and Leningrad. The economic situation in the Baltic, the Ukraine, and Georgia is much better; however, the rest of the republics are dependent on others. Uzbekistan produces 60 percent of the Soviet

Union's cotton, but it has to get fertilizers from other republics. It also has to get its grain from other places. The oil refineries in Azerbaijan receive oil from Siberia, thousands of miles away. Armenia is also a prosperous republic, but it is surrounded on all sides. It also has problems with its neighboring republics, and its oil comes from different provinces. In addition, there might be a civil war among the republics. There can be minor skirmishes also. Sixty million people live as minorities in various republics, and most of them have problems with the majority population. There are 25 million Russians who live in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and the Baltic states. Even in the Russian federation itself, 20 percent of the population is non-Russian; this portion recently supported the military coup. They do not like Boris Yeltsin. In such a situation, a ceremonial declaration of independence by central Asian republics just will not do. They must first unite for their independence. One proposal is to form a Turkish federation, and this will be discussed in the conference of republics. This Turkish federation will never be realized under the former communist rule; it needs new leadership. It is definite that none of the Muslim republics in the Soviet Union can remain independent by themselves. They need a wider coalition and support from countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, and other nations of the Islamic world. They should have a good relationship with these countries. History is pushing these central Asian republics toward unity, which will later lead to independence.

Strong Relations With Muslim Republics Urged

Government Not Doing Enough

92AS0010A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 9 Sep 91 p 3

[Editorial: "A Mere Consulate in Tashkent Is Not Enough"]

[Text] Pakistan has decided to establish a consulate in the Central Asian city of Tashkent. Pakistan's ambassador in Russia has informed the Soviet Government of this decision and the Soviet Government has expressed its consent. Also, PIA [Pakistan International Airlines] is studying the feasibility of starting air service to Tashkent. Pakistan is preparing a program for the exchange of official delegations with Islamic Soviet Republics. The government of Pakistan has made the right decisions but what it has done so far is not enough. It is necessary to proceed further and with speed in that direction.

The Soviet Union has a Muslim population numbering in the millions who, in spite of having lived for a long time under subjugation and suffered violence and oppression at the hands of their Russian rulers, have nevertheless preserved their Islamic culture and identity. Since they were not allowed to establish relations with other Islamic countries, Soviet Turkic republics, which cover a large territory did not enjoy the importance they deserve. Now that communism has ended and the republics have attained political freedom, the relations of these republics with Islamic countries are expected to be

strengthened. Pakistan and Turkic republics have long-standing cultural relations and the establishment of a consulate in Tashkent will further strengthen these ties. The exchange of official delegations with Soviet republics is also a good idea but the program should be widened. There should be an exchange of Muslim scholars, religious teachers, and intellectuals on an unofficial basis because such individuals can perform more efficiently than official delegations, which have no contact with the people and spend their time sightseeing and attending parties. Certain circles in Pakistan are asking the Government of Pakistan to recognize the declaration of independence by the Muslim Turkic republics. But the foreign ministry has explained that Pakistan has not decided to recognize the Muslim Soviet Republics and the reason may be that these republics have not as yet openly declared their independence as the Baltic states have done. It is also possible that these Muslim republics may decide to remain within the union in a loosely structured political and economic system.

Government Efforts Viewed

92AS0010B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 9 Sept 91
p 10

[Article: "The Decision To Establish Relations With Muslim Soviet Republics"]

[Text] According to reports, Pakistan's ambassador to Moscow, Jahangir Qasi, has requested the Soviet Government to allow Pakistan to establish a consulate general in Tashkent. The request is in itself a positive sign for the future for it points to a change in foreign policy for which the need has been felt for quite some time especially in view of the present situation in the Soviet Union. Now that conditions have changed radically in the Soviet Union and states annexed under a totalitarian regime are declaring their independence, it is necessary to offer encouragement to the Muslim states of Central Asia, which are busy trying to revive their Muslim identities and where an intense desire exists for independence. Some time ago, when the Soviet ambassador-at-large was visiting Pakistan, the latter expressed its desire to establish relations with Central Asian states. The Soviets did not express any reluctance in the matter. Although these republics have not declared total independence, still, in view of their growing desire for freedom and the religious revival taking place there, these republics should not be allowed to feel any shortcoming in relations with the Islamic world. The changes in that part of the world will have deep repercussions and we do have historical relations with these countries. In order to provide moral support and in the interests of future relations, it is essential that Iran and Turkey be consulted. Azerbaijan's borders join those of Iran and a large number of Central Asians speak Turkish. In addition to Iran and Turkey, other Islamic countries should be consulted as well since these countries are strong financially and in a position to provide financial help.

Islamic Movement in Republics

92AS0010C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 10 Sept 91 p 6

[Article: "The Possibility of Success for the Central Asian Islamic Movement: The Present Leadership in these Countries Wishes To Retain Relations With Russia"]

[Text] The changes will affect the Central Asian republics most of all as was proved by the 25 August announcement of Islam Karimov, president of the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan, asking for the command of the military forces of the Republic and directing the parliament to draft an independence law. In Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmen are Soviet Republics. The largest of these, Kazakhstan, opposed Gorbachev's ouster whereas Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan supported the authoritarian elements. Tajikistan, Turkmen, and Kirghizia remained neutral. Although the situation still remains unclear, observers think that Kazakhstan will impose restrictions on the communist party whereas Tajikistan, Turkmen, and Kirghizia where authoritarian elements are in positions of strength, it will take time to break up the party and declare independence.

The difficulty facing the Central Asian Republics desire for freedom is that they are most dependent on the total structure of the Soviet Union. Their own economic and financial structure is contingent upon the total structure of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, elements of freedom have been introduced in Gorbachev's "perestroika" and "glasnost" and "the greater freedom policy" of Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Republic so that it is possible that they are in favor of establishing a union or federation of Central Asian Soviet Republics. But such a development is at present not practicable largely because of racial and language dissensions in the area. Every Soviet republic has minority populations and quarrels are a constant occurrence. There are, for example, Russian and Ukrainian minorities in Kazakhstan; Uzbek minorities in Tajikistan; and minorities of various nationalities in Uzbekistan, which is the most progressive republic of the area. Farsi speaking Tajiks live in Samarqand, Bokhara and the Ferghana valley and Tajiks and Usbeks live in Kirghizia.

Religion is the sole factor common to the republics. There are Islamic political parties in all the Central Asian republics trying to establish Islamic systems of government and these parties enjoy popular support. However, due to the lack of the media communication in the Muslim republics, the movement for reform is not as strong there compared with the (progressive) western republics of the Soviet Union and Moscow. There is no official expression in the Muslim republics of any wish for reform. According to the analysis of Ahmad Rashid, the prominent Pakistani commentator, if there is any other political trend observable in these republics, it is one of pro-Islamism. He observes that there are dozens of such parties in the Central Asian republics but their

current leadership wants to maintain relations with Moscow. From the point of view of economics and secularism, these republics still rely on Moscow but there are differences of opinion among the people on this point.

There are other patriotic groups in addition to the religious parties but there are racial and linguistic differences as well among these republics; hence, the leaderships of these republics have to look to Moscow. Some observers are of the view that in spite of religious, national, and linguistic differences, efforts can be made to bind the Muslims of these republics together in "Islamic brotherhood." If the new leaders of the Soviet Union should tolerate this religious awakening, there is no reason why in elections (on a majority basis), Islamic parties should not win in a significant way.

Recognition Important

92AS0010D Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 16 Sept p 10

[Editorial: "Economic Relations With Central Asia"]

[Text] Federal finance minister Sartaj Aziz and foreign secretary Shariyar told press representatives that Pakistan and Iran would establish economic and trade relations with Central Asian countries and, to this end, the organization of trade relations would be widened. As regards the Soviet Central Asian republics, at a time when they are badly in need of help and support by the Islamic world, the establishment of economic and commercial relations with them is a positive step. But the only logical approach to this matter is first, to recognize the declaration of independence by these countries on an ambassadorial level and then to establish mutual relations with them. Such relations would then have life in them and the Islamic world would not be accused of interference. Although the Soviet Union has become a loose structure and its very existence is in doubt, all the republics of Central Asia have not declared their independence unequivocally. Relations with those republics that have made such a declaration should be placed on a legal basis. The reawakening of the sense of their Islamic identity among the Muslims of this area has assumed intensity. The people of Azerbaijan and Azerbaijanis from areas under Armenian control are heading towards Iran.

The truth is that Muslim organizations in these republics wish to increase relations with the Islamic world. It is their natural desire to join the brotherhood of Muslims and this desire should be honored. We consider it necessary to urge that first recognition and then help based on their resources should be extended to these republics. They possess land and skill but for its own reasons, the Soviet Government kept them in a backward state. Trade relations with these republics will prove beneficial to them and also help them to occupy their position among their Muslim brothers, which they have desired for a long time. Our government has, on an

ambassadorial level, informed the Soviet Government of its desire to establish relations with the republics. However, it would be more appropriate for us to recognize the independence of the Central Asian republics and thus avoid giving rise to any suspicions or the appearance of interference.

The Central Asian republics are entirely independent economically and we should play a part in their economic reconstruction. The United States is now trying to obtain trade opportunities for South Korea in that area. It would be better to retain the interests of the Islamic world in its own hands. The efforts of Iran and Pakistan are to be commended and no time should be lost in putting matters into effect.

Iran Role Crucial

92AS0010E Karachi JANG in Urdu 16 Sept 91 p 3

[Editorial: "The New World Order and the Islamic World"]

[Text] Iran and Pakistan have once more emphasized the need for unity and cooperation among Islamic countries in order to confront effectively the new world order. During talks Saturday between Pakistan's president Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Iran's leader Ayatollah Khomeini, Islamic countries were urged to work for the establishment of a new and just world order. There has always been need for cooperation and unity among Islamic countries on political and economic levels. But after the end of the Cold war between the great powers and the defeat and dissolution of the Soviet system, the Third World and especially the Islamic world is facing a situation where the United States alone remains a superpower that can try to impose policies based on its own interests. We said a few days ago that in this situation the main targets will be Muslim countries because the Soviet Union and the former Warsaw pact countries will follow the same course as countries supporting the United States.

Undeniably, unseen factors can influence future events. The Republic of China, Japan, and united Germany may emerge as influential powers and form new centers of strength. But efforts for greater strength on regional and economic levels can render the quick appearance of such phenomena more difficult. Nevertheless, it is an accepted fact that future events will pose strong challenges to Muslim countries. We have been suggesting to Muslim leaders that they prepare for the changing conditions. On the face of it, the ICO [Islamic Conference Organization] agreement among Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey and wider Islamic unity in the shape of the organization of Islamic countries are considered signs of a more comprehensive Islamic unity but it is an undeniable fact that the Muslim member countries of these organizations did not reap the expected benefits from their membership. Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey are united not only by the immortal ties of Islam but are also contiguous geographically; hence they possess the

capacity for attaining great strength and progress in an important area of the world. But from the practical point of view, no significant political, economic, or defense advantages have been gained and in spite of its enviable opportunities, the Islamic conference did not play any important role in protecting the interests of Islam, for, if it had, the Iran-Iraq war, Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan, and the Gulf war would not have occurred and the world of Islam would not have suffered such irreparable losses. Muslim countries have displayed just as much lack of any appreciable cooperation on the economic front as they have on the political front. Under such conditions, it would be a mistake to expect any cooperation in matters of defense.

While new world conditions have created difficulties for Muslim countries, the independence of the Muslim countries of Central Asia has raised innumerable pleasant prospects. If Muslim countries could unite to find a solution for the Afghanistan problem, the entire region could become an unconquerable Muslim stronghold. We request the leaders of Iran and Pakistan and of all Muslim countries to cast off the yoke of foreign slavery, to have confidence in themselves, and to take concrete steps towards cooperation and unity based on Islam. They should gather together their manpower, natural resources and God-given abilities and prepare for the challenges of the future. This is not the time for indulging in mere talk. In the same way that non-Muslim powers are cleverly uniting, Muslims should also rise above minor differences and work for a wider Islamic unity.

Call For Increase in Cooperation With Bangladesh

92AS0375D Karachi DAWN in English 1 Dec 91 p 16

[Article by Hassan Saeed]

[Text] Dhaka, Nov 30—Chief of Tehrik-i-Istiqlal Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan has said that mutual cooperation between Pakistan and Bangladesh on the basis of equality and understanding, could overcome some common problems including poverty, over-population and under-development.

Air Marshal Asghar Khan, who arrived here on a private visit expressed his satisfaction at the establishment of a democratic government in Bangladesh through a free and fair election.

When his attention was drawn to the issue of repatriation of the stranded Pakistanis, Asghar Khan said: "We are greatly sympathetic to the cause but there is some difference of opinion in the People's Democratic Alliance (PDA)." He, however, hoped that the issue would be resolved soon.

This is the first visit to Bangladesh by Mr Khan, a former chief of united Pakistan's air force, who later joined politics and launched his political organisation in the late 60s.

"I was here during the turbulent days of March, 1971 and I had told the Pakistani government that united Pakistan would be finished if a single bullet was fired to tackle the situation in East Pakistan," Asghar Khan told BSS upon arrival.

He said repression on the people of erstwhile East Pakistan was a "madness" and he had openly given vent to his feelings regardless of the fact that he hailed from the then West Pakistan.

Mr Khan, who is accompanied by his wife said he was thrilled to be in Bangladesh. "It is not a political visit and I am essentially here to meet old friends and well wishers," he said.

Planning Minister Zahiruddin Khan, a family friend of Mr Khan, was present at the airport in his private capacity to receive the guests.

Among others Mr D.B. Habibullah, who was the then chief of East Pakistan unit of Tehrik-i-Istiqlal party and Mr Mukhlesuzzaman Khan, former MNA [member of National Assembly] were present at the airport.

Mr Abbas Zaidi, Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan, was also present.

Mr Asghar Khan is expected to stay in Bangladesh for about a week and will visit Chittagong.

"My mission is primarily aimed at promoting greater friendship between the people of Bangladesh and Pakistan, Asghar Khan said.

"It is a sentimental journey, not a political mission," he said adding "I love this country and its people."

Increased Assistance to Kashmiri Militants Urged

92AS0380A Lahore THE NATION in English 2 Dec 91 p 14

[Text] Sargodha—Kashmir is an integral part of Pakistan. It is therefore, imperative for Pakistanis to help the Kashmiri freedom-fighters in their struggle against Indian hypocrisy so that Occupied Kashmir could be liberated.

This was observed on Tuesday by Prime Minister Azad Kashmir, Sardar Mohammad Abdul Qayyum while addressing an Azadi-i-Kashmir Conference at Al-Farid Auditorium, Dar-ul-Aloom, Bhera, 60 kilometres from Sargodha city.

He said that independence of Pakistan was incomplete without Kashmir and Kashmiris were not a separate nation, but brethren of all others living in Pakistan. He said the freedom-fighters were struggling for the liberation of Kashmir which legally belonged to Pakistan hence no Kashmiri could accept the third suggestion for the solution of Kashmir problems. He lamented that some people were trying to divert the attention of Pakistanis from the all important Kashmir issue at the

behest of anti-Islam forces which according to him, were popularising the idea of independent Kashmir.

He said that Pakistanis should step forward to help the Kashmiri Mujahideen and action committees should be formed to stress holding of long-awaited plebiscite in the valley according aid cut to the UN resolutions. [sentence as published]

The Azad Kashmir Premier alleged that America was exerting pressure economic boycott aid cut-off and by turning international opinion against our peaceful programme only to prevent Pakistan from supporting Kashmiri Mujahideen. He said that such tactics could not sabotage the cause and stop the struggle of Kashmiris and neither Pakistanis nor Kashmiris would compromise with such forces at the cost of Kashmir.

He said India had no grudge against Kashmiris; however, it did not favour their decision of merging Kashmir into Pakistan. No non-Muslim can tolerate a stronger Pakistan because such Pakistan would be a fortress of Islam and a constant threat to anti-Muslim forces. He stressed the need for creating awareness at international level about the atrocities of five lac Indian troops against innocent Kashmiris who beside massacring of Kashmiri Muslims were also violating the human rights.

Sardar Abdul Qayyum pointed out that Indian forces were applying full pressure on Kashmiri Mujahideen to abandon their struggle for freedom till the end of winter, but all their efforts would be foiled, he resolved. He said that Azad Kashmir government had opened its border for the Mujahideen coming from Occupied Kashmir and the government would patronise them in their crusade.

He also demanded Muslims of Middle East countries to support the cause of Kashmiri freedom-fighters in the forthcoming organisation of Islamic Countries conference.

Editorial Demands Action on Kashmir

92AS0181A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 22 Oct 91
p 10

[Editorial: "Arbitration Over Kashmir: What a Surprising Move!"]

[Text] Shahriyar Khan has said that during prime minister Nawaz Sharif's meeting with British Prime Minister John Major in London, the former asked John Major to undertake the task of arbitration in the Kashmir issue. The foreign minister made it clear that there was no truth in the statement of Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao that both Pakistan and India had rejected the offer of arbitration. The first hint of an arbitration over Kashmir came from Sadiq Kanju, Pakistan's minister of state for foreign affairs, who said during an interview with the Voice of America in Harare that Pakistan was willing to adopt the third choice, namely, arbitration. The question is, why is there a need

for arbitration and why is there a deviation from Pakistan's confirmed stand that the Kashmir issue should be solved by referendum as stated in the resolutions of the United Nations. The wise men of the foreign office base their action on the argument that they know that India will not accept arbitration; hence, to prove India's intransigence to the world community and to maintain international pressure on India, Pakistan has made this proposal. Even if this argument is accepted, then Pakistan could suffer an international setback by retreating from its nationally confirmed stand and conveying the impression that the referendum resolution is no longer as sacred and thus no longer non-negotiable. As a matter of principle, it is not possible for Pakistan to retreat even an inch on the UN resolutions and to try to seek any other means than referendum for solving the Kashmir issue. The international aspect of the Kashmir issue is that after a war between Pakistan and India over Kashmir, the United Nations arranged a cease-fire and decided that the fate of Kashmir would be decided by the people of Kashmir through a free and unbiased referendum. India promised the United Nations that it would hold a referendum but has not kept the promise it made to the international forum and has stubbornly kept its confiscatory hold on Kashmir.

India has used its savage, cruel, and Nazi-style army to keep the Kashmiris subjugated. Over the last 40 or 42 years, the Indian Army has demonstrated unlimited savagery towards the people of Kashmir. Pakistan's position before the international community is that without the settlement of the Kashmir problem, the agenda of the division of the subcontinent and the liberation of India will not be fulfilled. According to that agenda, Kashmir should undoubtedly have become a part of Pakistan but by cunning aggression, India in a preemptive action, seized Kashmir. This problem continues in all its seriousness to this day and is a perpetual danger to peace on the subcontinent. Even if the international community should have no feelings of sympathy towards Pakistan or the people of Kashmir, it should try to solve the Kashmir problem for the sake of peace alone and the problem cannot be solved in any other way than through a referendum that would give the people of the province the opportunity to decide whether they wish to join India or Pakistan. If Pakistan should deviate even slightly from its traditional internationally confirmed stand on Kashmir, there is not only the danger but, in fact, also the certainty that the conspiracy for an independent Kashmir or for the division of Kashmir will succeed and this would be tantamount to suicide for Pakistan.

According to the charter for the division of India, Kashmir with its Muslim majority is not only a part of Pakistan but Kashmir is also Pakistan's jugular vein. Qaid-e Azam Jinnah had correctly acknowledged the importance of Kashmir. The blood in the veins of Pakistan comes from the jugular vein of Kashmir and Pakistan can in no way accept the severance of this vein. Kashmiris themselves are not willing to become a part of

India. They are fighting a war of liberation against India. Kashmiri men, women and children, the old and the young are being martyred. Their habitations are being destroyed, their fields are set aflame, their households are restricted by curfew, savage Indian troops are dishonoring and raping the respectable women of Kashmir, but the Kashmiris bear all these misfortunes and continue to sacrifice themselves in order to rid themselves of India.

Every year, the Kashmiris have celebrated the independence day of Pakistan by flying the green flag and shouting "Long Live Pakistan." The Kashmiris have rejoiced whenever Pakistan's cricket team has won. They have proved that they are a part of Pakistan and wish to join Pakistan. If a referendum is held, they would vote to join Pakistan. Instead of wasting time over a third course of action and thus weakening its own position, Pakistan should head straight for the United Nations and insist that, in the same way that the international community had its resolutions carried out to the letter earlier this year in regard to Kuwait, in regard to the Kashmir problem also it should retrieve its resolutions from the shelf of forgetfulness and exert pressure on India to agree to a referendum and if India does not agree, then economic sanctions should be imposed upon it and it should be harassed at every turn. If India should still refuse, then in accordance with its charter, the United Nations should use force to ensure compliance with its resolutions.

Undoubtedly, India will throw in the towel long before matters come to this juncture. India is cunning but it is also a coward. It will not be able to endure even the UN's economic sanctions. Pakistan has earlier used this strategy in regard to the Afghanistan problem. It has raised the issue each year in the General Assembly and elicited sympathy from the international community. The Geneva accord was signed under the auspices of the United Nations. What is the sense of seeking arbitration over Kashmir? In the first place, Pakistan's ministry of foreign affairs did not mention Kashmir for many years. They would silence each successive government by showing it the Shimla agreement and saying that Kashmir should not be mentioned because there would be bitter feeling between Pakistan and India and strained conditions on the borders and the government itself would be in danger. Now that at last Kashmir is being mentioned, talk has started of third choices and arbitration. Arbitration by whom? By British Prime Minister John Major. Who does not know what our British masters did to us in the past: how Mountbatten treated us; how Radcliff changed the boundary lines and created a massacre; how much interest the Commonwealth has shown in Kashmir; and how can anyone expect any good results from the successors of British imperialism?

What is needed is for Pakistan to raise the Kashmir issue in the United Nations and concentrate all of its efforts on having the UN resolutions on Kashmir carried out. There is no sense in seeking arbitration. Still, we should seek contact with anyone who can help us to persuade

India to accept a referendum. Before taking its case to the United Nations, Pakistan should try to increase the number of its friends and supporters. We should explain to Arab, African, Latin American, and South Asia countries and in particular to a friendly country such as China, that India's occupation of Kashmir is against the charter of the United Nations and that it is essential that Kashmiris be given the right to decide their destiny through a referendum. If the wise men of the ministry of foreign affairs and government ministers have any enterprising spirit, they should explain the problem of Kashmir to the world. Pakistan has a strong case. Its position is based upon justice. What then is the sense of indulging in this guessing game?

Internal Affairs

Sharif Comments on Literacy Termed 'Rhetoric'

92AS0380D Lahore *THE NATION* in English
25 Nov 91 p 7

[Article by Inayat Ullah: "Prime Minister's Rhetoric About Literacy"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif while delivering his convocation address recently at the Aga Khan University made the following points about literacy in Pakistan:

1. A nation that laid greatest value on education is today "drowned in illiteracy."
2. 30 percent literacy in Pakistan was not only a "matter of shame" but also a cause of concern and alarm.
3. At this rate we should "forget about entering the next century with any degree of hope and confidence."
4. He had placed education on top of his government's priorities.

Is the Prime Minister's address sheer rhetoric, a mere promise or a credible commitment?

If government's performance during the last one year with regard to the promotion of literacy is any guide, PM's statement at Karachi is just words, a mere eye-wash.

Twelve valuable months have been wasted. All that has been heard is a sporadic reference to the preparation of a new dynamic educational policy. In the meantime, millions more have in this hapless country joined the ranks of the illiterates. What hope of a dynamic policy may there be when this vital matter is being treated in such a lethargic and undynamic manner? To say the least the neglect is criminal. It is unpardonable.

The record of the previous government in this field was unbelievably dismal. 1990 was declared the International Literacy Year [ILY] by the United Nations. UNESCO's curtain-raiser statement thus highlighted the importance of the Literacy Year.

"International Literacy Year is not an isolated event but an element in a comprehensive strategy for literacy. ILY is not a celebration but a summons to action. The building blocks of UNESCO's strategy to combat illiteracy—the regional programmes for the elimination of illiteracy—are already in place. Each of these programmes has its own unique characteristics, suited to the special circumstances or needs of the region it serves, but all are based upon a common approach to combating illiteracy in which measures to expand and improve primary education are combined with the promotion of out-of-school literacy instruction for unschooled or under-schooled adolescents and adults.

The International Literacy Year was heralded in March 1990, with the holding of the biggest World Conference on Education for All at Jomtien in Thailand. It was cosponsored by UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP [UN Development Program], the World Bank and a whole host of international agencies and attended by 1,500 participants from 155 governments (including Pakistan) with representatives from 250 NGOs [Nongovernmental Organizations]. Scores of Education Ministers and heads of government present at the conference agreed to proclaim that "we, the participants in the World Conference on Education for All, reaffirm the rights of all people to Education." To maintain the momentum generated at Jomtien the participants concurred in ensuring "a systematic follow-up at the country and international levels." Primary education and adult literacy both were agreed to be promoted with speed and vigour if illiteracy was to be wiped out in the years to come. As a participant at the Education Minister level, Pakistan too committed itself to the declaration and the follow-up. In view of the low level of literacy in this country and neglect of literacy programmes, the Director-General UNESCO, on way back from the World Conference specially broke journey at Islamabad and called on the Prime Minister to impress upon her the crucial need for accelerating promotion of literacy. Incredible as it appears now, instead of stepping up the existing literacy programme the then government totally stopped it and literally replaced the National Commission for Literacy and Mass Education by a non-decrepit Commission for Education and Training thus putting an end to whatever efforts were in hand to increase literacy. The present government's record so far, as stated earlier, is equally disappointing.

While illiteracy and ignorance may not be synonymous, human resource development is integrally linked with the ability to read and write. No wonder, all developed countries have high rates of literacy and the developing states which have made rapid economic progress during the last few decades, have highly literate societies. Not many years ago Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and China had low literacy rates. Special national adult literacy programmes along with universalisation of primary education have yielded excellent results. Even India where (barring a few literate pockets) the rate of literacy was more or less the same as in Pakistan launched a nationwide adult literacy programme in 1978

and established hundreds of thousands of Adult Literacy Centres in the length and breadth of the country with the result that its literacy rate today is more than 50 percent while we are still lagging behind at about 30 percent.

Unfortunately our Ministry of Education taking a myopic and unrealistic view of the challenge of illiteracy is planning to concentrate on the primary education only. It fails to realise that primary education alone cannot ensure even the achievement of 50 percent literacy unless it is accompanied by a massive adult literacy drive. It will take decades to lower the frighteningly high drop-out rate (ranging at present between 50 percent to 60 percent) in our primary schools unless the parents too are made literate. With inadequate basic facilities and absentee teachers, the current mess in the primary schools will take a long time to be cleared. In addition to primary education, therefore, adult literacy is absolutely essential. Also as realised by India, the productive manpower in the age-cohorts of 15 to 35 years just cannot be permitted to be kept illiterate if rapid progress is to be made in the industrial field. Even agricultural development beyond a certain point needs a literate population. The UN Human Rights Charter considers literacy a basic human right and ability to read and write a basic human skill which every adult must possess. Illiteracy is a severe individual and social disability. It makes grown-up people dependent on others even for reading or writing a receipt or a letter. Our planners seldom calculate the huge cost of illiteracy in terms of the lost human resource potential, as well as the loss suffered in social economic and political development. In this Islamic Republic of ours three out of every four persons cannot read or write. There are areas where 96 out of 100 women are totally illiterate. We talk of female emancipation. Could an illiterate woman in our milieu ever, even think of breaking the social fetters and taboos? Literacy may not be education as such but it surely is the first step towards self-reliance and the opening up of a new channel to a whole new world where one can receive and communicate information and ideas. It is the key which opens the door to knowledge and growth. Without it in this fast moving world of computers and complex hi-tech systems, a person may soon enough become totally irrelevant. If Pakistan has to have a place in the 21st century, it must rush to make up for the lost time and catch up with the rest of the world. No wonder adult literacy in Indonesia is called in their language the "Catching up" programme.

If Pakistan has to attain a high literacy rate, there is no escape for the government from launching a massive literacy programme as was done in Japan, China, South-East Asia, Latin America, most of Africa and even in India. The adult education success stories in South Korea, Thailand, China and Indonesia have much to teach us.

If they can do it why can't we, in Pakistan? The following steps need to be taken immediately:

1. Appointment of a high-powered National Literacy Council headed by the Prime Minister and consisting of amongst others all the Chief Ministers of the Provinces.

2. Restoration of the National Literacy Commission.

3. Formulation of a National Programme for Literacy, with implementation entrusted to provinces and local governments. (The earlier programmes failed partly because of unimaginative over-centralisation and partly on account of faulty methodology). The programme should focus on the rural areas with high priority accorded to female literacy.

4. Using Television for imparting literacy, Pakistan's earlier experiment in this respect (hailed abroad) was quite successful. It could be improved with better timing and well-designed local centres.

5. Involving all sections of the society including universities, factories, trade unions and religious institutions.

6. Instituting incentives and disincentives.

7. Using media to the maximum in creating a climate for motivating people to join literacy centres.

8. Involving and supporting NGOs for the promotion of literacy.

9. Formulating viable post-literacy programmes.

These and other measures, developed in the light of approaches and techniques successfully deployed in other developing countries in addition to a dynamic and countrywide primary education programme should in a few years time, enable Pakistan to move ahead rapidly on the road to literacy. We cannot afford anymore indulgence in empty slogans, meaningless rhetoric and inaction.

If the Prime Minister, this time, really means what he says, he will have to own the task of making this illiterate nation literate and demonstrate his political will by finding funds and developing a credible strategy on the lines suggested above, by doing so he would be taking a giant step to prepare the ground for the people of this country to acquire skills and capabilities to enter the 21st century with "hope and confidence."

Balochistan Said Becoming Like Sindh

92AS0375A Karachi DAWN in English 29 Nov 91 p 13

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Quetta, Nov 28—Nawab Mohammad Akbar Khan Bugti, chief of Jamhoori Watan Party [JWP], has said, "Sindh is bleeding and Balochistan is being pushed towards the same situation by the rulers."

He was addressing a Press conference here on Thursday at Bugti House.

Mr Bugti said, 'the present rulers are the creation of Martial Law and they are running the state affairs in the same manner. However, he warned that operations in Sindh and Balochistan would harm unity of the country.

He said the Federation could only be maintained voluntarily by all units on the basis of equality and equal representation.

The chief of JWP criticised the Federal and the provincial governments for their failure to maintain law and order. These governments, the Nawab said, have totally failed to control the situation.

He said, "the entire country is in the grip of loot and corruption. Public wealth has been snatched through cooperative and accumulated by the rulers and their lackies."

The unemployment problem is rising and developmental process has totally collapsed. People are living in a miserable condition, he said.

Nawab Bugti remarked that 'the rulers were engaged in their own development and of the favourites.' He said under the garb of privatisation they were rewarding their own people.

Jamali Govt criticised: Mr Bugti criticised the provincial government, headed by Taj Mohammad Jamali and charged that it was engaged in pitching Balochs against Pushtoons, for no reason, but to prolong its tenure.

He said due to 'state of uncertainty' in the country, the people were looking towards the President to use his legal and constitutional powers for ending the 'state of tension'.

Nawab Bugti said, "if the President does not take action then he will be failing in his obligations."

He criticised the action against Mr Arjundas Bugti, a minority member of Balochistan Assembly.

PPP Said Ready To Quit Balochistan Government

92AS0375C Lahore THE NATION in English 3 Dec 91 pp 1, 4

[Text] Quetta—The Executive Committee of Pakistan Peoples Party [PPP], Balochistan, has decided with consensus to quit the provincial coalition government.

The three-day meeting, with Provincial PPP President Sardar Fateh Mohammad Hasni MNA [member National Assembly] in the chair, also decided to constitute a four-member committee to negotiate the grievances with the Chief Minister [CM].

According to sources close to PPP, the committee called on Chief Minister Mir Taj Jamali and apprised him about the resentment of party workers over the alleged discriminatory attitude of the government towards PPP Ministers. The sources said the Chief Minister had sought 10 days time to redress their grievances which

are: the induction of Mir Baz Khaitran, the PPP Parliamentary Leader in Balochistan Assembly, in the provincial Cabinet reallocation of WASA [Water and Sanitation Agency] portfolio to a PPP Minister; and contacting the Sindh Government to stop the political victimisation of PPP workers.

The sources said the two PPP Ministers had tendered their resignation to Provincial PPP President Sardar Fateh Mohammad Hasni. After completion of the period, sought by the CM, the resignations would be submitted to the Governor of Balochistan.

It may be mentioned that of the three PPP Members of the Provincial Assembly, two have been inducted in the coalition Cabinet as Minister. The third could not be made Minister in the light of the instructions that no member of Assembly either of Provincial and National, facing Presidential reference in a court of law, could be inducted in Provincial or Federal Cabinet. The PPP MPA's brother Lai Bakhsh Khaitran has been made Adviser to the Chief Minister.

When contacted by THE NATION, the PPP Ministers expressed unawareness about the decision taken by the PPP Balochistan executive to quit the coalition cabinet. However, they expressed their full confidence in PPP leadership and said they would resign if they were asked to do so.

Ethnic Strife Increasing in Balochistan

92AS0375B Lahore THE NATION in English
28 Nov 91 p 6

[Text] Balochistan Chief Minister [CM] Mir Taj Mohammad Khan Jamali has said Balochistan belongs to both Balochs and Pushtoons as well as all others living in the province and that they should live together in peace, as brethren. Under normal circumstances the CM's assertion would have long been forgotten as a routine statement by the provincial government chief. But, coming in the wake of a recent wild proposal made by some Pushtoon leaders, it assumes a special meaning. It has been proposed that a constitutional amendment be made to divide Balochistan into two parts so as to redress grievances of the Balochs and Pushtoons.

Long years of denial of political and economic rights of the people of Balochistan, together with the heavy influx of Afghan refugees which grossly inflated the Pushtoon population, have led to a feeling of being treated unfairly and discriminated against in allocation of development projects in the two ethnic groups. An undercurrent of ethnic tension, of course, has always been there but it could never have reached the present point of aggravation without the eleven years of military dictatorship. It suited the purposes of the military regime to channelise the public hatred, generated by deprivation of democratic rights, into ethnic tensions and mistrust and thus busy the people in fighting one another. Divide and rule has been the age-old policy of the oppressors and exploiters. That policy let out the genie of the worst kind

of ethnic polarisation in Sindh and is now ready to engulf Balochistan. The situation in Balochistan is really getting serious. Unfortunately, the Federal Government appears to be content with taking administrative measures only to deal with the fast worsening ethnic strife in Balochistan as and when it erupts in the form of violence, like it did earlier last month. The government must check the dangerous talk of the division of Balochistan on ethnic lines before an unmanageable Sindh-like situation develops in this province too. It should pay heed to the advice of some Baloch leaders about calling all the concerned Baloch and Pushtoon leaders to a conference table so as to sort out their problems through mutual discussion and agreement. The time to act is now, tomorrow may be too late.

JUP Leader Calls For Revolution

92AS0288D Karachi JANG in Urdu 4 Nov 91 pp 1, 11

[New Report: "New Revolution Brewing in Pakistan—K.M.Azhar"]

[Text] Lahore (PR)—General K. M. Azhar (Retd.), central secretary general of Jamiat-i Ulema-i Pakistan (JUP), said that "those who had given sacrifices to conceive and establish Pakistan have been pushed into the background. Because of this, we have this political and internal instability." He expressed this opinion while addressing the third meeting of the Anjuman Naujawan-i Islam (ANI) convention. He said that "all eyes are focused on the youth now, because they are the future of Pakistan," and that the JUP was working hard against lawlessness, terrorism, unemployment, and for basic rights for the people. He added that "the glorious past of the JUP proves that it has never compromised its principles, and that it has a history of making unparalleled sacrifices to establish an Islamic form of government. God willing, the sacrifices made by the JUP and members of ANI members will bear fruit." Chowdhery Himayat Ali, the central president of the ANI, said that "this convention will play an important role in the ideological war and will achieve success in its goals." He added that youth from across the country who were attending the convention would return with a line of action. Mr. Tariq Mehbub, president of the Sindh ANI, said that it is "the time of decision in the ideological war. The lies and frauds are coming out, and the truth is shining. The fear that Mulana Shah Ahmed Noorani has expressed about Pakistani politics was true. We can read it on the wall." Mohammed Ahmed Saddiqi, member of the central council of the JUP, said that the youth symbolized revolution, and that the youth always played an important role in any revolution. "The ANI youth will have to play their role in establishing an Islamic form of government," said Mr. Saddiqi, adding that he felt the ANI was an effective and mobile campaign, with many great hopes tied to it. He told the young people that "the future belongs to the youth," and stated that all slogans and claims in Pakistan had "met their fate." Mr. Saddiqi continued to say, "Now all that is left is revolution. Revolution is waking up in Pakistan. Rana

Mohammed Arshid said that slogans of independent countries are being raised openly now, and "the poison of prejudice and factionalism is being spread among the Muslims of Pakistan. The government is watching it all silently." The third meeting of the convention was also addressed by Sharaq Athar, Salim Hussein, Mohammed Afzal, Chowdhery Hasan Allah, and Mohammed Asman Abbasi.

Political Coverup of Rape Case Alleged

92AS0380I Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English (Supplement) 22 Nov 91 p 6

[Article by Ateel Saquib: "Just Another Case of Rape?"]

[Text] Another gang-rape allegedly took place on the night of October 24. This time the victim was a middle-aged woman, Jannat, daughter of one old, ailing Faiz Bakhsh, resident of Mauza Jas Jhok Padian. This village happens to fall in Tehsil Kehrore Pacca, district Lodhran which in turn makes it the constituency of Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mohammad Siddique Khan Kanjoo.

According to details, a dozen armed men stormed into the house of the said family after having fired several rounds indiscriminately in the air to frighten the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Smelling trouble, Jannat, a spinster in her early forties, had locked herself up in one of the rooms along with her old father. The assailants, however, managed to break into that room, apparently, with little difficulty.

While this was happening the neighbours had a clear indication as to what the culprits may be up to, but as the latter were heavily armed and more than ready to use brute force, nobody dared interfere. They attacked the house, which carries innumerable marks of firing, with its windows and ventilators almost completely blown up. According to the ill-fated family, a number of assailants stood guard outside the house, firing in the air now and then, to ensure nobody came near them while the rest of them carried out the brutal act indoors.

Further details reveal that the assailants first deprived the family of all their valuables which mainly included jewelry. Then they tied up Faiz Bakhsh, Jannat's father, and at least eight persons allegedly stripped Jannat naked and raped her one after the other. Those whom Jannat was able to identify include Nawab, Abdullah, Mohammad Bakhsh, Aslam, Hanif, Sarwar, Farid and Noora. After the heinous act, the assailants cut off the victim's nose and fled away with her clothes as a mark of accomplishment. The motive behind the crime is based on the suspicion that Ladhu, brother-in-law of Jannat, had illicit relations with the sister of Abdullah, one of the assailants.

Soon after the crime, Jannat was rushed to Civil Hospital Kehrore Pacca where according to medical report No. 249/91 at least three injuries on her body were detected by the doctor. She was transferred to Nishtar Hospital

Multan where she was examined by the lady doctor Zubaida Riaz of Civil Hospital Multan on November 4.

Faiz Bakhsh went to police station Kehrore Pacca on October 25 and asked SHO [Station House Officer] Amir Bakhsh to register a case of gang-rape. The SHO hesitated and asked him to rethink the matter. After two days, Faiz Bakhsh came back to the SHO and demanded the registration of a gang-rape case. Allegedly, the SHO registered a case of theft under sections 334 Qisas and Diyat, 380, 148 and 149 Cr.PC. In the FIR [First Information Report] he did not mention the use of arms by the assailants and instead listed knives, sticks and daggers as instruments of torture carried by the assailants. It is not clear whether the FIR lodged by Faiz Bakhsh is or is not based on facts as he had put them to the police, as he is illiterate and had put a thumb impression on the FIR report. It was only after press coverage of the incident that the police registered a case under the Zina Ordinance on November 3rd.

According to SHO Amir Bakhsh there was no firing at the house of Jannat on the said night. But this is belied by several bullet marks clearly visible on the victim's house. During the probe one Mohammad Iqbal, a resident of the area, confirmed that he, as well as many others from the neighbourhood heard the assailants' firing but they could not proceed any farther for fear of coming under attack. He disclosed that those who held him back included the relatives of the assailants.

However, the SHO said that he was convinced even before the medical report that the rape was not committed and that the statement of the victim Jannat before the press and a magistrate was totally false and baseless. He said that in his opinion only one Nawab was the real culprit as he had cut off Jannat's nose. When the reporter asked to see Nawab, the accused was presented before him but restrained by the SHO from talking.

Nevertheless, this reporter was able to contact Nawab later on while the SHO was not around when he confessed having links with the notorious outlaws of the area including Khadima Daidor, Bashira Habshi, Bashira Baluch, Mushtaqa, Shado and others who are absconders. Nawab also confessed that rape was committed by Khadima Daidor and a few others whose names he did not mention. He also confessed before this reporter that he had cut off Jannat's nose after she was raped.

According to Nawab, the police have arrested six innocent persons while the real culprits who were his accomplices were allowed to escape comfortably. It is important to note here that the said absconders are also wanted by police on charges of dacoity, looting, rape and murder. Nawab revealed that these people have links with many influential people of the area and the police dare not touch them for the same reason.

According to the victim's family the assailants continue to harass them. "They have sent threatening messages that they would strike back and this time kill us all if we

didn't withdraw the case against them," revealed a source close to Jannat's family.

Among the six accused men now held in the police lock up there is a Hafiz-i-Quran who pleads innocence for himself and his mates. According to him Nawab knows very well that they had nothing to do with the crime. "If Narab can say to my face that I was among the culprits, I would readily accept any punishment under the law."

Meanwhile SHO Amir Bakhsh insists that rape was never committed. He claims that the case was investigated by the DSP [Deputy Superintendent of Police] Kohrore Pacca and the SP [Superintendent of Police] Lodhran and that they had backed up the investigation made by him. Interestingly, neither the DSP nor the SP in question deemed it necessary to meet the complainants, that is the victim's family.

During the discourse with this reporter, SHO Amir Bakhsh inexplicably kept referring to the fact that Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mohammad Siddique Kanjoo makes frequent telephone calls to him. Asked whether Mr. Kanjoo ever inquired about the Jannat case, he replied: "No; I don't think he has time for such trivial things, being the very busy man that he is. He just calls to inquire about some local MNAs and MPAs [members of National and Provincial Assemblies, respectively]."

On the other hand, there are a good number of people in the village who claim that during the probe, Mr. Kanjoo had called up the SHO at his residence at Alipur, and discussed the incident with him in private on October 30. Then he had asked him to meet the requirements of the law. In spite of this, however, the SHO had refused to register the case until he was obliged to do so after the details appeared in the press.

When this reporter asked the SHO about the exact location of the crime—Jannat's house—he insisted it was now useless trying to go there because he had already made the details known to the press. He said the house was not very easily accessible except on foot. "When the police went there by jeep one of the tyres was punctured and the DSP Kehrore Pacca and SP Kodhran had to wait for five hours before they could drive back."

However, when this reporter insisted the SHO called in one Khuda Bakhsh, a councillor and supporter of the complainants, he claimed that rape was committed but the police have arrested only those whose names were mentioned in the FIR while other outlaws were not being arrested for some unknown reasons. Later on, the councillor took this reporter to the exact scene of the crime where the floor was stained with blackish blood marks.

During the probe Khuda Bakhsh also said that his two sons had been killed by his opponents in a clash and according to the traditions of the area the decision was to be made by Mohammad Siddique Kanjoo. It was claimed by some neutral people that Mr. Kanjoo wanted

to resolve the incident as it occurred in his constituency, but Khuda Bakhsh was pressurising him to decide the case in his favour.

SHO Amir Bakhsh told this reporter that he is about to be promoted very soon and could do nothing against the law. He also claimed that he was very honest and did not take bribes. He continued that some political people have been involved in this incident for their political gains against Mohammad Siddique Khan Kanjoo and claimed, "I will bring the facts to light and prove that rape was not committed and Jannat's statement was a pack of lies."

Politician Disqualified for Being Hindu

92AS0380H Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 14 Nov 91 p 10

[Editorial: "A Bad Joke"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Balochistan assembly has passed a resolution asking the provincial government to make a reference to the Election Commission against a Hindu member, Arjun Das Bugti, to disqualify him for violation of the constitution. During a discussion on better facilities for Balochi Sikhs going on a pilgrimage to Amritsar, Mr Bugti had committed the 'crime' of telling provincial minister Mr Jaffer Khan Mandokhail in jest as to 'why doesn't he join them'. The minority member probably wanted to make the minister concerned feel the shoddiness of the government arrangements for the minorities, or maybe, he just wanted to have a discreet joke at his expense.

Unfortunately for him, though, his assembly colleagues chose to twist his statement round and misconstrued it as an 'attempt to influence a man of faith to accept another religion', a violation of the constitutional clause forbidding propagation of other religion to Muslims. One suspects that politics has at least as much to do with the Arjun Bugti case as religion because quite noticeably, the motion against him was supported only by the 'rabid' Muslims among the multi-party treasury, while the lesser devout of the opposition kept quiet. The obvious reason for the treasury consensus and opposition's silence on Mr Arjun Das Bugti is that he belongs to JWP [Jamhoori Watan Party], the party that constitutes parliamentary opposition in Balochistan PA [Provincial Assembly]. Depriving him of his seat would mean one less for the opposition, which might just be a gain for the ruling coalition. It is, therefore, no surprise that virtually all component parties of the Balochistan coalition have voted for disqualification of the minority member. It is a shame. And the biggest shame of all is that they include parties like PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and PNP [Pakistan National Party], parties which have claims to being 'secular' and 'progressive'. The Balochistan PPP, in fact, is furthering the crime of violating minority rights that its ancestral government of the seventies had

first committed by inserting the very clause in the constitution that they are trying to invoke against Arjun Das Bugti.

One does not wish to go into a discussion here of whether or not the minority member of Balochistan assembly has violated the constitution nor would one want to remind anyone that the controversial clause being invoked against him invalidates the guarantee of equal rights and opportunities granted to minorities in the preamble of the same constitution. The only point that one would wish to make here is about the effects of such an act on the morale of the minorities in Pakistan. Already disenchanted due to lack of equal opportunities and the various constitutional and social biases, they will probably see it as another clear manifestation of the state animosity towards them as a community. The non-participatory attitude and indifference to its welfare that it would create in almost a whole section of the populace would make a bad joke of the state.

Treason Alleged in Nuclear Inspection Case

92WP0060V Karachi JANG in Urdu 7 Oct 91 pp 3, 10

[News Report: "Agreeing to U.S. Inspection of Nuclear Installations Termed 'Treachery'"]

[Text] Lahore (Staff Reporter)—Dr. Israr Ahmed, president of Tanzim-i Islami-i Pakistan, said "prejudice is increasing daily in the states. It is believed now that the country cannot run without the interest system. In my

opinion, an earthquake that would help rid this country of the curse of the interest system would be very welcome." He was addressing Tehrik-i Khilafit at the Mochi Darwaza last night. The meeting was also addressed by General (Ret.) Tajmal Hussein, Rehmat Allah Bad, treasurer of Tanzim-i Islami, and Rana Mohammed Ayub. Dr. Israr Ahmed said that "our present administration is of raffle tickets left here by the British. All these curses are also prevalent in India. However, one curse has been removed from there; that is the end of the landlord system. Our politics here are being managed by the landlords." He said that "perhaps there is no other nation in the world where even medicines are adulterated. The peace at home of the Westernized people has been destroyed, and their children have become wayward."

"Now we have left the West in the race for dishonesty and hypocrisy," he said. "We invited Lady Diana to Pakistan just to show her that Pakistan is exactly the way you people left it." Dr. Ahmed added, "we are going to invite Madonna to visit Pakistan now. We have reached the limits of shamelessness. Now major political parties are shedding the blood of each others' members. These parties should give proof of their concern for what is sacred. Why are they chasing wealth?" He further said that "our enemy, the British, had conspired to create a major problem for us. We are still fighting over it now." Dr. Ahmed continued, "We are trying to uproot Islam. Recently, Benazir had said in a statement that our present government had agreed to an inspection of our nuclear installation by the United States. This action is treachery against our nation."

Success Reported in Developing Research Reactor*92AS0288C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 5 Nov 91 pp 1, 7*

[News Report: "Pakistan Successful in Developing Nuclear Reactor"]

[Text] Islamabad (Special Correspondent)—Pakistan has attained another success in nuclear technology by making a 10-megawatt [MW] advanced research reactor. Designed a second time, this reactor was inaugurated at 11:39 on 31 October. Dr. Ishfaq Ahmed, chairman of Nuclear Energy Commission, said that the new reactor was the result of the hard work of Pakistani engineers and scientists. The United States had given Pakistan a 5-MW research nuclear reactor in 1965 under the "atom for peace" program. This reactor was put into operation in June 1966 and 10-percent enriched uranium was used as fuel. This fuel was also provided by the United States. This reactor helped in research work in medicine, agriculture, and industrial fields. The United States suspended fuel supply to this reactor during the 1970's. As a result, Pakistan had to redesign this reactor. Pakistani scientists and nuclear experts have redesigned it without any foreign assistance or cooperation, and have improved it to 10 MW. This is a remarkable feat. They have changed its design to use 20-percent enriched uranium. They had to totally redesign it to increase its power to 10 MW. This reactor was also repaired in 1981. Later, major repair work was started in 1986. The whole instrumental and control system was overhauled. Dr. Ishfaq Ahmed said that conversion from 5 MW to 10-MW required new fuel, physical changes, thermal hydraulics, and other changes that were very difficult. Still, the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) decided to take advantage of this opportunity and to make a 10 MW research reactor that could produce more isotopes. They wanted to design it in such a way to increase its life 15 to 20 years. The older reactor was expected to last 25 years and was already 16 years old. The PAEC chief said that the basic structure of the new reactor was designed by PAEC engineers and experts. However, this design was inspected in China because the fuel, which could be prepared in Pakistan but was not available to the degree of enrichment required by the new design. Producing that fuel in Pakistan would be very costly. Therefore, fuel for the reactor was produced in China. Dr. Ishfaq said that the reactor designed by Pakistan is very safe and Pakistani scientists and engineers had to face extreme danger in making it. At one time, the older reactor had started to ignite. However, it was controlled in time. The reactor was created in two phases. During the first phase in 1986, controls were changed and a new control room was built. A nuclear reactor must be designed very carefully and only the finest grade of instruments are used. This experiment to build a nuclear reactor in Pakistan has been extremely successful. The success of this experiment has paved the way to build power plants in our country. Dr. Ishfaq said that very strict measures were taken to stop nuclear leaks after the Chernobyl and the U.S. Three Miles Island

incidents. Pakistan will utilize the experience from making this research reactor in monitoring and repairing the power plant in Karachi.

Oil, Gas Production To Rapidly Accelerate*92AS0379E Lahore THE NATION in English 30 Nov 91 p 8*

[Article by Mohammad Ali: "New Policy Puts Pakistan on World Oil, Gas Map"]

[Text] Lahore—The new policy of the Government of Pakistan to rationalise and accelerate oil and gas production in the country cuts new ground and opens new avenues giving it width and depth in line with the burgeoning spirit of free and unfettered enterprise.

Development of oil and gas, the basic sources of energy, holds the key to development all round. There is no aspect of developmental activity which can be imagined to move on without employment of some form of energy at one stage or another. Everything has to move and in order to move, you must have energy. The new policy opens the door to all who have anything of value to contribute. All restrictive checks and controls have been shed and the field is now open to imaginative, innovative enterprise.

In the first place, the new policy creates a new environment conducive to constructive effort in every field relevant to development modernisation, expansion, production and marketing of all products of the oil and gas industries. The Government makes a start by easing to the point of almost withdrawing altogether its levies, taxes and cuts. All import duties have been withdrawn from drilling rigs, logging trucks, seismic equipment, well cementation, snubbing units and all equipment needed for enhanced oil recovery from depleted fields.

By withdrawing import duties on equipment and machinery which is the basis of all exploratory activity as well as all development in post-exploratory stages, the Government has chosen to forego enormous tax yield in favour of incentives to the potential entrepreneur, national as well as foreign. The withdrawal of Import Duty does not only offer financial shot in the arm but also saves the future entrant to this field the time-consuming paper work and formalities. One might add, it ensures freedom from unnecessary bureaucratic interference and 'demands', too.

To boost refining, the new policy opens the door wide to fresh investment. Import of crude is free, setting up refineries unrestricted. This obviously means import of machinery and plant and accessories. The investor is also given all the freedom to put his product in the domestic market or export and bring in foreign exchange. He would be free to plan his enterprise in the best way he can make it viable, profitable and rewarding.

The extent of freedom from Government control offered to the new investor in the oil and gas field is totally

unprecedented and places Pakistan alongside gas and oil industry in the free economies of the world. A logical corollary of this policy is that Pakistan's oil and gas sector will become part and parcel of the world oil and gas market. The interplay between the domestic market and the international market is bound to energise and modernise the oil and gas operations in Pakistan. So far, this field of economic activity has hobbled along unsurely on the crutches of state support and state control, both of which have negated the value of each other. The controls inhibiting enterprise and supports sapping the value of innovation.

There is a very special emphasis on offshore activity. As it is, the government has decided to unburden the oil and gas enterprises of taxes and controls. Those operating offshore will receive further concessions, making it even more attractive to enter this area of exploration and exploitation.

The procedures for processing applications for offshore concessions for exploration will now be decided within a period of three months. This is a major improvement over the prevailing practices under which it took years to see applications through the official red-tape. This promise of finalising applications for exploration concession in a period of not more than 90 days will be a tremendous incentive. For one thing, this assurance will ensure that an application will be spared not only indefinite waiting but also wholly unproductive expenditure which all waiting entails.

A number of steps have been incorporated in the new policy which go to rationalise the entire framework and remove antiquated practices and cobwebs inherited from old procedures. There are to be no hard and fast regulations for determining the government's participation in concession agreements. The present practice of the government footing five per cent of the cost of exploration and insisting upon 50 percent share in production and development after discovery goes by the board. In future these terms would be flexible and freely negotiable between the parties concerned. Static and unbendable procedures tend to be restrictive in the final analysis and discourage participation of free capital.

The present capacity of oil refining in the country has been more or less static at around 140,000 barrels per day. This has been the result of government controls and stultifying restraints. It is expected that the decision to leave this field completely free to private enterprise will soon contribute to a major enhancement in the country's refining activity, saving the country millions in foreign exchange.

As a direct result of this, lube products will be freed from all controls including price determination by the official channels. The prices of lube, as well as fuel oil, motor spirit and high speed diesel will also be freed of government control to be determined by market forces, which would of course mean domestic and international market forces coming into play.

The chances are that the world oil market is due to ease considerably, with peace returning to the Middle East and other oil producing areas of the world. The oil market tends to be extremely sensitive to political development particularly those liable to create uncertainties. The prospect now appears to be clearing and chances of stability improving.

From production to distribution and retail: The new policy brings the same breath of fresh air to the retail areas. It promises to clear the ground for the same spirit of free enterprise to determine the shape of the retail trade in oil and, presumably, also gas. The distribution of retail outlets will also be free from all government controls. The marketing companies will be free to organise their distribution and retail network. There is, however, one factor which no responsible government can leave uncontrolled: the safety aspect as far as storage and distribution outlets are concerned. Subject to rules and regulations concerning safety and security of the distribution outlets and storage, the trade will be free to organise itself to its best advantage and to ensure efficiency in public service.

The new policy has been made public. It is a revolutionary step by any standards. One should not be surprised if there is some hesitation in some quarters in coming to terms with an entirely changed scheme of things. Those used to stringent controls and initiative inhibiting disciplines take their time to learn to be self-reliant.

It is also quite gratifying to note that the policy does not fail to take due note of risks and hazards that must be taken as part of the gas and oil trade, industry and development: the fire and explosions that are an inherent risk and all handling of these highly inflammable substances. The policy makes provision for a task force to be set up on a nationwide basis. It can be assumed that the government will take the lead in the matter and the private entrepreneurs will play their due part in the development of this vitally important service. In certain other respects also the policy envisages the private sector operators in the gas and oil field will participate in the organisation, development and maintenance of ancillary services including health, education and other physical amenities for their workers and employees.

Obstacles to Liberalization Program Viewed

92AS0379A Karachi DAWN in English 19 Nov 91 p 11

[Article by Shahid Kardar: "Hurdles in Liberalisation"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Liberalisation of trade, deregulation of production and price controls and exchange rate adjustment are the essential components of the government's policy framework for inducing efficiency in the real productive sectors of the economy, boosting exports, attracting foreign investment and ensuring the continued availability of aid. This article will briefly examine the

implementation hurdles of the liberalisation policy being pursued by the government.

In theory, the advocates of trade liberalisation are right that relaxed import controls improve export performance. But it is not a sufficient condition if international demand is depressed, trade barriers are proliferating and marketing has to be learnt and financed. Also, a shift from import substitution to export-led growth can only be achieved slowly and by running large trade deficits for long periods. The experience of South Korea is particularly relevant in this regard.

Furthermore, liberalisation can only be carried out if there are, or is backed up by, large sums of foreign exchange. It also requires a minimum level of education and income for the market system to work and impact upon the efficiency and productivity of the economy. The dispensers of such advice are aware of Pakistan's predicament in this regard and are, therefore, providing funds to prop up the foreign currency reserves. However, in view of the enormity of the task, there is serious doubt over the adequacy of this assistance.

What is, however, not clear is the shape and pace of implementation that the liberalisation policy will finally take. What is also missing in the agenda are the proposals on what (and how) institutional and attitudinal changes will have to be made, other than those in the admittedly narrow-based sectors of organised industry and trade, to make economic liberalisation acceptable at all levels of society.

For instance, the logic of liberalisation applied without provisions to the agriculture sector will result in the 'relatively inefficient' small farmer selling out to the large farmer. The resulting concentration will not be because of the inefficient farmer being eased out (there is enough evidence that small farmers are not necessarily less efficient than large farmers) but of a strong party taking over a weak one.

Some have even agreed that the government's policy to raise the procurement price, as one of the measures for compensating the farmer, following a cut-back in fertiliser subsidies, will reinforce this process of concentration as bigger farmers with their large surpluses will reap most of the benefit. This writer has difficulty in accepting the argument for the continuation of fertiliser subsidies. The problem is that fertiliser subsidies can only be availed by their buyers and all buyers are not poor farmers. Thus if we want to help the poor we have to intervene directly and target assistance in areas or activities which would be of value to the poor.

In the non-agricultural productive sectors of the economy, liberalisation has been identified with the withdrawal of controls on private industrial activity and international trade. Changes in the bureaucratic set-up seem to interest decision-makers only insofar as they support this policy reform. An unstated assumption is that the supportive social and attitudinal changes required have already taken place or will be made

without any major conflict or delay. Is there any evidence in support of such presumptions?

An essential component of this policy package is the future role that is being envisaged for the state sector. It has been decided to cut back public sector activity in areas that are of interest to the private sector and focus its efforts on the provision of physical and social infrastructure. The economic arguments to support a role of the government involving the provision of physical and social infrastructural facilities are based on the premise that:

a) the private sector does not find it attractive to invest in such activities because they are long gestation in nature; and

b) they raise the long-term productivity of land and labour.

But the time that it will take for these changes to bear fruit in the form of higher incomes and improved employment prospects is difficult to predict. There is, however, little doubt that the transitional phase will be long enough to require some measures now to ease the burden of poverty. People have to be somehow assisted to survive on the most basic diet (in nutritional terms) while they are being educated and the infrastructural facilities are being developed to the point that the lack of access to such services no longer serves as frustrating impediment.

In view of the size of the unemployment problem it is difficult on the one hand to identify the political party which would be willing to undertake this responsibility and on the other hand to identify the manner in which such an exercise can be carried out effectively.

Domestic price stability is important for social stability as it affects the least protected more severely. It is not clear if this objective has been built into the target of a reduced fiscal deficit. The determination with which subsidies are being withdrawn is not in evidence when expenditure is being made on a large team of ministers, legislators and bureaucrats, seminars, conferences, foreign trips, political rallies, prime ministerial or presidential visits, stone-laying/inauguration ceremonies of new projects, or festivals.

Other than the savings that can be made by reducing such expenditures, large amounts can also be released by revising staffing levels and patterns. These are not new points. The trouble, however, is that the political leadership does not raise these issues with the resoluteness displayed when privileges, benefits, and tax exemptions are being affected. Should the cynicism of the population at large and its refusal to contribute to the public exchequer then come as a surprise? People will only be prepared to respond if there is evidence that the political leadership is also committed and willing to make the necessary sacrifices. It would be extremely naive to

believe that the public would consider proposals to tighten its belt so that the administration can loosen its own.

The more affluent households in urban areas are adopting western consumer habits and life-styles, although the passage of the Shariat Bill and other such legislation is giving the impression, because of the odd mix, that the changes are only a veneer. Furthermore, the rest of the population continues to be poor and illiterate and has not been transformed. This transformation depends upon the ability of the Pakistani state to raise their social and economic capabilities.

But no one appears to be interested in the lower half of the income distribution, as it falls outside the pale of the market economy which will provide the demand for the investment that will exploit the potential being provided by the freer environment for industrial production, financing and pricing.

Pakistan can only be transformed if the restructuring of the economy bridges the gulf between these sections of society. African and South American countries burdened by debt have not yet found a way of making the beneficiaries of the reckless borrowing bear most of the costs of readjustment, despite the coups and mini-revolutions that have occurred.

Self-Sufficient Nuclear Industries Foreseen

92WP0085A Karachi JANG in Urdu 7 Nov 91 p 3

[Article by Farhat Mehmood Khan: "Now or Never"]

[Text] Nations have to pay a very high price for even minor mistakes in planning. The Soviet Union attacked Afghanistan before doing adequate research and as a result, is at the brink of losing its own existence. This way, nations that have not taken action on time have been hurt very badly. Even future generations have to suffer from those mistakes. We can give hundreds of such examples, both in modern as well as ancient times. In the past, we Pakistanis lost a part of our country because of our negligence and mistakes. This way, Pakistan, which was the fort of the Islamic world and the center of their hopes, became the cause of their disappointment. The one-third of the world population that is Muslim is flailing its arms in the darkness of uncertainty. It is trapped very badly in the clutches of extortionists because of a lack of effective leadership. Their internal strife and unjust actions have pushed them to the point where they are worrying about their own existence.

As long as the Soviet Union was alive, there was a balance of power in the world, even though that period was called the Cold war. Now the balance of power is completely in favor of the United States of America, and the Cold war has become a real war. The main goal of this war is total destruction of the Islamic world. Saddam Husayn provided the opportunity to start this. His erratic planning and mistaken policies caused his destruction. The United States and its allies have begun

to consider the Muslim an easy prey now. The destruction of Iraq and U.S. presence in the Middle East is causing serious problems for the Islamic world.

Because of this imbalance of power, an organization like the United Nations has also become a compliant agency. This organization will do exactly what the United States desires. This is a real fact: Might is right.

The United States is now focusing its attention on nuclear programs in Pakistan, Iran, and Nigeria. It wants to disarm the Islamic countries so this one-third of the world population bows down to it, giving it the chance to take advantage of their resources. Thus, in the name of peace, it is trying to become the undisputed owner and leader of the world. We refer to this desire as the new world order.

As Muslims and as Pakistanis, we just cannot tolerate that other Islamic countries and their people suffer the same fate as Iraq. The United States and its lackeys will never allow any Islamic country to attain nuclear capability. They will never permit Muslims to make progress and live independently and prosperously as a united group.

In order to make Pakistan give up its nuclear program, the United States is using deception, force, influence, and is also tempting Pakistan. Recently, it has tempted Pakistan with the offer of the defense umbrella. It also offered to reinstate the old agreement that, in its stead, promised Pakistan defense from the communists to provide defense from India. This offer is a total fraud. The United States cannot be trusted at all. Therefore, we should reject every offer it makes to us.

We are passing through the transient era after the Cold war. We should take advantage of this period and blast a nuclear bomb. If we lose this opportunity, then we will never be able to attain nuclear independence. American imperialism is tightening its hold on us gradually. May God forbid that the time comes when we are forced to close our nuclear program. In the past, we had stopped our nuclear program because of the demands of U.S. aid. At this time, U.S. aid and loans have been stopped, and we are not even getting aid for a pipeline.

Even if we suspend our program for the sake of U.S. aid, the United States will continue to impose new restrictions on us. For example, it may ask us to reduce the number of our armed forces, not to make progress in defense technology, not to make missiles, not to make tanks, not to cooperate with China, and so forth. This way, an endless series of demands will be made on us. As a result, we will not be independent any more, and we will not be free at all.

The full responsibility to counter this situation falls on President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Mohammed Nawaz Sharif's government. They must try hard to protect Pakistan and the Islamic world. At the same time, opposition parties and the people must support the government. It is the demand of the times that we plan

everything quickly and declare our nuclear capability openly. We should stop apologizing to all those imperialistic powers and look into their eyes and be ready for our own defense.

Weapons given in charities and inadequate economic aid has never guaranteed a nation independence and self-sufficiency. This slogan of self-sufficiency that we have promoted should have been raised a long time ago. There will be many problems because of this delay. If the correct path is taken, then the nation will make sacrifices happily. Our nation should consult with its real friends—China, Iran, Turkey, and others—and blast the bomb. We should analyze the situation that would be caused by such a blast and also make defense preparations. During General Beg's time, the military paid special attention to defense and military industries. That is admirable. We should continue at full capacity now, since it is important for our self-sufficiency in the defense area. If we announce our nuclear self-sufficiency and give it the level of an industry, then we will benefit economically. In addition, we will have the following political advantages:

1. The morale of Muslims worldwide will be raised. It would be equivalent to getting a new life, which at this time of uncertainty, has forgotten its goals.
2. The attention of the Muslim world will be focused on its "fort." Pakistan will benefit from this. The United States and its lackeys have already stopped all kinds of aid to Pakistan. After this, we will definitely get aid from Islamic countries.
3. One billion Muslims will find a place and will look toward a "fort" for their protection. They will find leadership that will lead to better organization.
4. Pakistan will become a member of the nuclear club and will be able to jump the hurdle of the Pressler Amendment.
5. The Muslim cause will be strengthened, and the Muslims will find effective ways to utilize their unlimited resources.
6. The plans that are being made to attack our nuclear installation will fail and we will be protected from such terrorist activities.
7. Our eternal enemy, India, will not dare to attack us any more. A Cold war is usually better than a real war.
8. The Muslim world will make act boldly, establish its own common market, and use its capital appropriately. It will free its wealth from the paws of the capitalists.
9. India has hatefully ignored Nawaz Sharif's five-nation conference for nuclear nonproliferation in this region. This proposal will also be brought up in the proposed conference. Pakistan will have better cards in its hands, which will help in the establishment of permanent peace.

10. Decisions on Kashmir, Afghanistan, and other affected Muslim regions will not be forced on us. These will be made after negotiations and collaborative efforts.

11. The new world order does not include Pakistan and Iran in its peace efforts for this region and the Middle East. The Gulf countries desire Pakistani involvement in their combined defense plan. The United States ignored these wishes and has decided to make India the "police-man" of this region. The affected Muslim countries express their desires to the United States; however, because of pressure, are not in any position to get their demands accepted. If we attain defense and nuclear capabilities, then we can convince the United States of America that we do not need it. Then it will not be able to give India the leading role in this region against the desires of the Gulf countries.

12. The whole world knows Pakistan as a panhandler, which does not have much because of its poverty. Pakistan will get the respect due it after it becomes a nuclear power. Our image in the world will be projected as that of a powerful nation. These days, power is everything.

13. The internal administration of Pakistan will be strengthened. A country that is defensively strong will not face aggression from any other country. This way, we will focus on internal stability and economy. Our defense expenses will also be reduced.

14. Most of all, we will be able to provide leadership to the Muslim world and succeed in combining its members on one platform. Muslim countries will pay attention to any request made by Pakistan.

Privatization Efforts Seen Embracing Corruption

92AS0379B Karachi DAWN in English 24 Nov 91 p 11

[Article by Mushtaq Ahmad: "Privatization With a Vengeance"]

[Text] With every change of government, and governments in Pakistan have a proneness to change more often than elsewhere, the country experiences a swing of the economic pendulum from one extremity to the other. The alternating policies apply a brake on the wheels of progress, leaving the economy to stagnate. Instead of following the straight road to deliverance from the state of backwardness we tend to move in a vicious circle of owning and disowning major policy decisions in quick succession.

The experiments our governments periodically undertake are totally divorced from theory and practice. All that is discernible in the see-saw of private and public enterprise, is the game of power politics whose primary purpose is the consolidation and advancement of the interests of the privileged class.

This is as much true of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] as of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party].

Although one is a party of tradition and the other of progress, the struggle between them is not one of the retention of the status quo or the introduction of a social change. Whether they advocate the case of private ownership or champion the cause of state enterprise, in office both prove to be reactionary despite their protestations to the contrary. Neither the Islamic state of Zia-ul-Haq and his ideological heir, Mian Nawaz Sharif, nor the socialist state of Bhutto and his political successor, Benazir, were or are welfare-oriented so committed are they to safeguard the vested interests of their class.

The policy of nationalisation initiated by its author in 1974, could at best be described as state capitalism without its efficiency and integrity, vitiated as it was by all the vices of nepotism and corruption of private capitalism at its worst. The Bureaucrats, to whose care the management of state industries were entrusted, lacked the professional competence and business acumen to increase their productive capacity, reduce the prices of their products and export potential for marketing them abroad.

The experiment proved abortive because our bureaucracy was not trained in the tradition of public service; it was groomed for the maintenance of law and order as an agent of the imperial power. It had no conception of a modern welfare state. The failure of nationalisation could, therefore, be attributed to its failure to grasp the spirit of the freedom movement with which its association was linked by its innate instinct for self-preservation. The two and a half decades of the country's existence had not witnessed a transformation from a police state to a reformist society, for it to handle with the dexterity and dedication an assignment to which it was new and yet unaccustomed.

The policy of denationalisation on which the present government has now embarked, goes far beyond the restoration of the old order. It postulates the private ownership of the means of production with a vengeance. Even enterprises owned by the state in the pre-nationalisation period, like power generation, railroads, highways, canals and water courses, and telephones from which private ownership was scrupulously excluded, are sought to be made over to the private sector.

A decision on state policy of vital importance taken in haste and without proper homework can never be judicious, it can even be fraught with dangerous consequences of which there seems to be no awareness on the part of policy makers who have persuaded themselves to believe that it is an open sesame to the paradise of progress. We cannot act on the experience of countries like Japan and the United States, where the political and social environment is entirely different from ours, where the ingenuity and innovativeness of the private sector is the prime mover of progress, and where the sense of social responsibility is the preserver of industrial peace and guarantees the financial strength of the state.

The scope of economic activity of the state in both countries is severely restricted. Even the defence industry in America is in private hands; all that the government is believed to have under its direct ownership, supervision and control are the postal services and prison houses of the country. The business of America being business, it attracts the best talent in the country and that goes for Japan as well, where an official of outstanding calibre is offered the most alluring temptation to leave his official assignment for a high position in the world of business.

The reward for merit in industry is too great for the functionaries of companies and corporations to look a career in state service. The manpower of Japan is its greatest single asset, and so is the immensity of organisational capacity of its entrepreneurial class to utilise it in productive channel; America, in addition, has a productive power of unprecedented magnitude.

We, in Pakistan, have neither of these assets. Our entrepreneurial class is a post-independence phenomenon, bred and brought up in the nursery of a sheltered market, tax holidays, fiscal concessions and financial assistance, and not the result of unaided pioneering spirit which was the main spring of industrial progress of the West and of Japan in the Far East, whose example Korea and Taiwan have emulated in our own times. Backward like Pakistan forty years ago, they have now taken a place in the front line of the industrialised countries of the world.

We have a long way to go before we can hope to attain their degree of self-reliance, in fact, much longer unless our entrepreneurs cease to rely on continued state patronage and their continuing indulgence in malpractices. The ill-fated experiment in nationalisation was not undertaken in pursuance of a theory in which a large body of public opinion did not or could not have a grounding but was a direct outcome of the unbridled acquisitive instinct of the very elements who are never tired of criticising the policies of previous governments.

The vote for Mr Bhutto's socialist creed was a vote against the *laissez faire* cult of Ayub era, which had given a free hand to private enterprise for the exploitation of the masses and workers alike, producing a spontaneous reaction and revolt in the country for the overthrow of his regime. The failure of nationalisation, whatever the reasons, does not automatically ensure the success of denationalisation, if the old order is restored with all its injustices and inequities. It was characterised by excessively high prices, inordinately low wages, artificial shortages and scarcity, hoarding and black-marketing, corruption and tax evasion on a massive scale, manipulation of credit mechanism in the interest of a small band of big borrowers, ownership of banks by the proprietors of industries with the resultant concentration of wealth in the possession of a few families and a consequent deprivation of the multitude.

The economy could not thrive in a shrinking market for the products of industry, which in itself was a by-product

of the increasingly diminishing purchasing power of the people caused by a rising spiral of prices and a high cost of living for the already hard-pressed masses. So colossal was the magnitude of tax evasion by the affluent classes that the state exchequer was inevitably depleted and the mounting budget deficits had to be met by resorting to indirect methods of taxation, large-scale borrowing at home, loans from international lending agencies and frequent doses of deficit financing.

The announcement of the new policy and its accelerated pace of implementation has generated no perceptible change in the climate except an expression of meaningless platitudes and empty promises. The rising tide of inflation and the ever-ascending price graph which has touched undreamt of heights in recent months, are a telling evidence of the shortcomings of public policies and the shortsightedness of the private sector.

Lest the remedy prescribed for the ills proves worse than the disease, the government must adopt a firm attitude towards the private enterprise which is being given such a wide latitude in opening up new vistas of opportunities in every field of economic endeavour. The successful

implementation of privatisation policy will call for a wholesale reorganisation of its financial and fiscal policies and restructuring of its tax structure, relating incidence of taxation directly to the capacity for its payment in the interest of equity, accompanied by stern measures to put down corruption in the services by an iron hand, punishing both the corrupt officials and the corrupting businessmen.

Our industrialists and businessmen who keep shuttling between foreign countries to which they have repatriated their assets and Pakistan where the assets were built, must have realised the incalculable risk of tax evasion abroad and the heavy penalties, including a prison sentence, for what in effect is a crime against society and state.

The Prime Minister's oft-repeated proclamation that he has been elected to improve the lot of the people will begin to ring hollow in their ears if his government is not able to eradicate the curse of bribery and corruption and cure the contagious disease of blackmarketing. In an unreported and undocumented economy, privatisation might well be a leap in the dark.

Advances in Nuclear Field Proclaimed

92WP0085B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 6 Nov 91
p 4

[Editorial: "Assurance of Pakistan's Progress and Security"]

[Text] Dr. Ishfaq Ahmed, chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC), said that Pakistani scientists have succeeded in transforming the 5-megawatt [MW] research reactor situated in Nellore into a 10-MW reactor. The United States gave us the Nellore reactor as a gift under the "atoms for peace" program in 1965. This reactor was put into use in 1966 and used 10-percent enriched uranium for fuel. The reactor had a life span of 25 years. Pakistan was using it to prepare isotopes that were used for medical, agricultural, and other peaceful purposes. The United States of America stopped supplying fuel for this reactor in the 1970's. At that time, Pakistani scientists started to change the design of the reactor in order to attain self-sufficiency in this area. They have finally succeeded. Now this reactor uses 20-percent enriched uranium, and the responsibility for providing this fuel will be with Pakistan's trusted friend, China. The change in this design has increased the life of this reactor by 25 years, and the isotopes made here will still be used for peaceful purposes. Pakistani scientists and engineers are to be congratulated for changing the design of the Nellore reactor. This is a small beginning, and it shows the ability of Pakistan's talented engineers. Pakistan should be proud of its scientists. Progress in the nuclear area is a valid need of Pakistan, and the modern world does not only defend its borders using nuclear capabilities, but also uses such capabilities in the areas of health, agriculture, and engineering. Pakistan has succeeded in developing new seeds for agriculture as a result of this technology. The record-breaking cotton harvest is also a result of our nuclear program.

Unfortunately, Pakistan's nuclear program is a sore spot for the Hindu and Jewish lobbies, and Pakistan is being presented to the whole world as being obsessed with making the "Islamic bomb." Meanwhile, no objections are being made about India's nuclear program. India blasted an atomic bomb openly in 1974, and dozens of research facilities in India are busy preparing enriched uranium. According to a CIA report, this uranium is enough to make 25 atomic bombs. According to other sources, India can make 40 to 100 atomic bombs. India's ambitions are not hidden from anyone. The Indian Navy also has nuclear submarines. Keeping in view India's dangerous and warlike ambitions, Pakistan has the right to make plans for its defense. It is not possible for it to protect itself from India with its traditional military weapons. In order to ensure peace in this region and to stop India's "war fever," Pakistan has to take the route of nuclear deterrents. The United States of America and other anti-Islamic nations are targeting Pakistan in order to keep the Islamic world weak. Pakistan has made it clear that if India's nuclear program is kept under

control, then Pakistan will accept every NPT [nonproliferation treaty] condition. Pakistan has introduced resolutions in the United Nations every year to keep the Indian Ocean free of nuclear weapons. In spite of these efforts, all blame is put on Pakistan. Pakistani Ambassador Aabida Hussein, stationed in the United States, has said that Pakistan cannot suspend its nuclear program unilaterally. It has every right to defend itself from India's dangerous ambitions, which is not possible without a nuclear deterrent. Pakistan also needs nuclear technology for its health, agricultural, industrial, and engineering areas. Pakistan cannot compromise this program to please the Hindu and Jewish lobbies. If the United States of America, China, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, Israel, and India have the right to have nuclear technology, so too does Pakistan. Pakistan cannot stay away from this "option."

Naval Base Being Built in Balochistan

92AS0288B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 6 Nov 91
p 5

[Editorial: "Another Naval Base for Pakistan Navy"]

[Text] Another naval base has been built at Ormara, in Balochistan's coastal region about 120 km from Karachi. As part of this project, a 120-km-long road will be built between Liari near Karachi to Ormara. This will help with the logistics of building the base. Admiral Yastur-ul-Haq Malik, head of the Pakistani Navy, said that building of P.N.S. Ahsan will herald a new era of economic progress for the coastal area. In the past the Pakistani Navy was not brought up to the required modern level. There are many reasons for this delay that are not appropriate for discussion now because Pakistan's Government is trying to make amends. Right in front of our eyes, India established several modern naval bases with the help of the Soviet Union. India also expanded and renovated some bases and did not depend solely on the large naval centers and ports like Calcutta and Bombay. Naval forces and resources have become very important in this era. The Indian Ocean has always played important role in politics. The Arabian Sea, which is surrounded by the "oil world," is becoming more and more important now. In view of the demands of the changing times, the government's decision to build a new naval base in Balochistan is a welcome development. The truth is that Pakistan should have three modern naval bases in order to reduce the concentration of the navy in Karachi and also to take effective steps to block smuggling via the sea.

Navy Seen Neglected at Expense of Army

92AS0375F Karachi DAWN in English 13 Nov 91 p 15

[Article by M.H. Askari: "Challenge Before the Navy"]

[Text] The fanfare which marked the change of command in the Pakistan Navy, even though it got nearly eclipsed by the media representatives' curiosity about

the confusing state of the nation, demonstrated nevertheless, a growing awareness of the imperatives of Pakistan's maritime defence.

It is obvious that Admiral Saeed Mohammad Khan, who succeeded Admiral Yasturul Haq Malik, faces a most formidable challenge. The relative naval strength of Pakistan and India is stated to be in the ratio of 7 to 1 in India's favour and the gap is believed to be continually widening. There is really a lot of ground to be covered.

Moreover, India which has already built the nucleus of a blue water navy is all set to expand its military and naval cooperation with the United States. There is growing speculation that the United States may be looking upon the Indian Navy as the future watchdog of the Gulf. At the same time, the Pakistan Navy faces the risk of being the most adversely affected by the stoppage of American aid. As many as eight of its frigates, counted among the most modern units of its sea-going fleet, which are on lease under the US aid programme, could revert to the United States on expiry of their lease within the next two to three years unless there is a policy change in Washington. While Pakistan does not—and obviously cannot—match India ship for ship, it must develop a credible deterrent at sea and a supporting infra-structure ashore.

Incidentally, the ceremony in Islamabad to mark the change of command in the navy had a certain obvious political connotation. It was overseen by Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan personally and served as a reminder of the President's constitutional position as supreme commander of the armed forces and of his prerogative to appoint a suitable incumbent to the position of Chief of Naval Staff, as of the army and air force. That the Prime Minister, too, had a place of honour at the ceremonial was symbolic of the participation of the political leadership as a link in the institutional setup of the armed forces, although ideally, the ultimate responsibility over the defence setup should vest in the elected head of the government. The naval ceremonial, nonetheless, highlighted the close cohesion that appears to exist between the three vital elements in the power structure—the head of state, the chief executive of the government and the heads of the armed forces.

Incidentally, the ceremony in Islamabad was a far cry from the colourful ceremonial traditionally associated with the handing-over in the navy. The tradition used to be a regular feature of naval ceremonials in the past and was duly observed in the case of the first two Pakistani commanders-in-chief of the navy, Vice-Admiral H.M. Siddiq Choudri and Vice-Admiral A.R. Khan. By tradition, the retiring naval C-in-C is supposed to hand over to his successor on board his flagship moored at sea or in harbour. The outgoing Admiral is then rowed out from his flagship in a boat manned by senior commanders of the units of the fleet. He also carries with him his flag which is hauled down to mark the expiry of his command, and his successor, then, hoists his own flag in his flagship which need not necessarily be the same as that of

his predecessor. Old-timers of the navy do not regard with approval the diminishing significance of traditional ceremonials.

Speaking at the naval ceremony, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan stressed that secure shores were necessary for the integrity of the country. This was, perhaps, for the first time that the importance of the navy in any scheme for the defence of the nation was duly emphasised by the head of the state. From the time that Ayub Khan introduced his doctrine of an essentially land-based defence, the navy has felt concerned that its role as custodian of the safety of the country's coastline and ports has not been adequately recognised.

The conflicting perceptions of Ayub Khan and the first Pakistani commander-in-chief of the navy, Vice-Admiral Choudri, over the navy's potential place in defence planning, in fact led to the Admiral's decision to request for retirement in early 1959, well before the end of his extended tenure. Ayub Khan, who had taken over chief martial law administrator and president five months earlier, did not hesitate to accept Adm Choudri's resignation, regardless of its implications to the morale of the navy. The Admiral had been something of a source of irritation to him during high-level discussions as he persistently demanded what he regarded as adequate resources for the development of the navy—and Ayub Khan invariably grudged him his demand. Adm Choudri's successor Vice-Admiral A.R. Khan, was known to enjoy a vastly greater measure of proximity to Ayub Khan.

From the outset, Ayub Khan was convinced that a war with India would inevitably be fought on land and the role of the navy would in that case be marginal. Even before he assumed the office of chief martial law administrator and president he argued that maximum resources had to be placed at the disposal of the army and after that to air force. Officers who served in the navy in the 50s recall his disparaging observations about the navy and its sea-going units. Adm Choudri, on the other hand, held the view that the navy was vital to any scheme of defence for Pakistan; the land-based army and air force by themselves could not meet the defence requirements of the nation.

The Admiral believed that if India were to impose a blockade of Pakistan's sea lines of communication—something that could be done without a formal declaration of war—the army and the air force, dependent as they were upon supplies from abroad, could be rendered ineffective within a matter of weeks. He also invariably stressed the need for an adequate naval base in East Pakistan but the plans for the same seldom received support from the army and the policy-makers.

In addition to the predominant role assigned to the army and air force in the early planning for Pakistan's defence, the Pakistan Navy also unfortunately suffered from petty jealousies and rivalries which was evident among many of its senior officers in the formative phase of the service.

The navy at the time was quite small and there was a lot of unbecoming jockeying for senior positions. This adversely affected the professionalism of the service as a whole.

A seminar held in Karachi in August to discuss the Gulf War convincingly brought out the significance of naval warfare. It was established that Iraq had a formidable army, comprising about a million men in uniform and equipped with an estimated 4,000 tanks. A major part of this force was committed to the Kuwait front. However, as their first move against Iraq, the United States and its allied forces resorted to a sea blockade and quarantine of the shipping lanes serving Iraq. This was intensified when the shooting war started and has continued to this day. There was saturation bombardment of the Iraqi army formations and other strategic targets by planes, based on land and on naval vessels. Missile attacks by the coalition navies were also a decisive factor in the "softening up" of the Iraqi forces.

It was generally recognised at the seminar that Iraq could have used its land forces infinitely more effectively if it had had more powerful navy (and air force) at its disposal. Many experts at the seminar expressed the view that the forces opposed to Iraq were able to embark upon a process of strangulation of the Iraqi army primarily through the naval blockade which Iraq could not deter or deal with. Even ships laden with cargo heading for Jordan were subjected to naval embargo on the pretext that the supplies could find their way into Iraq. Quarantine was imposed upon shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba even though it is hundreds of nautical miles from the Persian Gulf. At the same time, the coalition forces made full use of their own shipping, escorted by sea-going units, to ferry vital supplies to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. An estimated 100 merchant vessels were used in ferrying war supplies to the coalition armies.

Experts at the seminar were also of the view that a possible naval blockade by India can play havoc with Pakistan's defence capability and the overall morale of the people. About 32 percent of Pakistan's trade is via the sea lanes in the Far East, 25 percent through the Gulf and about 43 percent through the Red Sea. All this trade could be critically hampered in the event of a naval blockade. Moreover, it was also agreed that the navy was the only dependable means to safeguard Pakistan's substantial exclusive economic zone. Even if Pakistan was strong on land and in the air, the enemy could conceivably exploit Pakistan's weakness at sea and neutralise the nation's defence strength.

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in his speech at the naval ceremony indicated that the government was fully aware of the vital importance of naval defence. He also said that the defence of sealanes and maritime zones were essential for the country's economic development.

However, the problem is that over the years the army, by virtue of the strategic position that it occupies in the psyche of the nation, exercises a measure of political

influence, quite unlike the other services, which makes it an object of special concern to those in power as well as those who aspire to gain power. Unless there is a basic change in the thinking at all levels, the army will continue to be the centre of attention and continue to receive all the resources that it needs. The needs of the navy (and air force) will probably not receive a comparable level of attention. How skilfully he steers his way through a course which leaves him but limited room for manoeuvreability, and yet achieve the goals which he may set for the development of the navy during his tenure, is the real challenge facing Admiral Saeed Mohammad Khan.

Effects of High Defense Expenditure Seen Devastating

92AS0379K Karachi DAWN in English 25 Nov 91 p 11

[Article by Iqbal Jafar: "Time To Unlock Horns"; italicized words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] *If the people are prosperous, even a leaderless State can be governed.*—Chanakya in Arthashastra

The most popular motif of the Indus Valley civilisation is the bull. And, come to think of it, bull is also a revered character of the Indian mythology as the mount of Shiva, the destroyer. That the two bulls should have got their horns locked at the very first sight was not a surprise—not for those who knew that myths and symbols in South Asia are for real. That one of them should have got his tail pinched while grazing on the slopes of Himalayan mountains, or that the other should have got one of his horns detached while wallowing in the marshes of Sonar Bangla was also not much of a surprise. History of South Asia provides innumerable instances of conflicts without cause, and pursuits without purpose.

But that both of them should insist on grass, and an ever-diminishing quantity of it, as their staple food is more unwholesome than surprising, and yet more surprising than inevitable. In not too distant a future, this perpetual trial of strength that implies self-denial of much that is good in life would surely come to an unedifying end.

We have time yet to ask the question: Can India and Pakistan afford to squander away 12 billion dollars every year, as they do now, on military preparedness? Even the Russian bear, apparently healthy, massive and powerful, came to the sensible conclusion that one cannot dine on fissionable material and reside in tanks and bombers. It should not be difficult any more to grasp the simple truth of human life: Merchants of death do not cater for life. And what kind of life have we fostered in this subcontinent? Among 160 countries surveyed by the UNDP [UN Development Program], India and Pakistan are 123rd and 120th in Human Development Index ranking. If it does not appear bad enough, let us also take note of the fact that Maldives and Sri Lanka occupy 93rd and 75th place, and even Myanmar (Burma) stands at 106th and Papua New Guinea at 117th. In the year 2001 India and

Pakistan are likely to compete for the 160th position, now occupied by Sierra Leone.

The reason why India and Pakistan are losing the battle for the development of human resource is best illustrated by a comparison, between four countries, of the expenditure on defence, and on health, education, and social welfare (HEW), as a percentage of the total central government expenditure in 1989:

Country	Defence	HEW
Pakistan	39.9	5 (approx.)
India	26.2	9.4
Indonesia	8.3	13.5
Sri Lanka	5.4	32.0

If these percentages fail to create an impact, let us think of this: enrolment for *secondary* education in Sri Lanka (71%) is more than three times the effective rate of *primary* education (22%) in Pakistan!

These percentages and numbers present but a glimpse of the debasement of human resource in South Asia that has become a vast and thickly population breeding ground of dehumanised millions waiting to tear apart their numerous real and imaginary enemies. One can hear the ominous calls of weaponised faith, and the hoofbeats of organised ignorance on the streets of South Asia everywhere. Fuelled by hate and exacerbated by poverty, dismemberment of the South Asian society in the name of race, region, class, and creed goes on unabated on a mutually reactive pattern. South Asia, in consequence, is no more governable.

The worst, let us brace ourselves, is yet to come. By the year 2001 the population of the three major countries of South Asia—India, Pakistan and Bangladesh—would have swelled from the current level of about 1080 million to about 1300 million. The addition to the population—220 million—of these countries during next 10 years would be more than half of their population at the time of independence! If the present state of hate and suspicion, and consequent military build-up continues, there would, in the year 2001, be more than 450 million of them living below the poverty line! At that point, or maybe earlier, South Asia would cease to be governable. It would be in a state of anarchy such as the world has never seen before. More than one and a quarter billion humans, sick of life and thirsty for revenge, would generate so much of evil that the Devil himself would back away in sheer terror.

South Asians who, down the ages, have given much thought to formulating and analysing the paradoxes of human life have failed to notice the paradox of their own policies: why do they spin and weave seemingly impressive geopolitical models while defying geography!

In any geopolitical model the “geo” is given and immutable, and the political is contrived, unstable, and often

ill-conceived. As if to illustrate this principle, Indians sought alliances with the ‘non-aligned’ all over the globe and at odd places, and we in Pakistan have been in and out of alliances by signing pacts that died of old age in their infancy. Crossing many time-zones, and disregarding physical barriers, cultural disparities, and economic imperatives, South Asians have conjured up all sorts of alliances to weaken that which cannot be altered: geographical grouping.

Let the thinkers, the strategists, and the planners of South Asia ponder over this given fact of life: No yogi, even if he has attained ‘Samadhi’, can make India disappear from South Asia, and materialise somewhere in the Atlantic, and no scientist, even if he has split atoms, can split this subcontinent and tow away Pakistan to the shores of the Mediterranean. Here we are, and here we shall be till hell freezes over—for better if we have vision, for worse if we close the doors of perception.

The vicious circle of armament race between India and Pakistan must, therefore, be broken before South Asian society implodes into a garbage heap of numerous bits and pieces. India, being first among equals, should have taken the initiative to begin the process of meaningful resolution of the disputes, and contain proliferation of arms in the subcontinent. But there are no indications that it ever would.

Having disregarded the wisdom of their own mentor, with whose dictum this article begins, our Indian neighbours are not likely to prefer being wise rather than clever. But matching madness with madness only elevates madness to the state of normalcy. A bold initiative must, therefore, be taken by Pakistan to break the vicious circle and lift the curse that seems to have settled over this unfortunate subcontinent.

As a first step, let Pakistan declare *unilateral armament freeze* as of an appointed day. It means that we would not enhance the defensive or the offensive capability of our armed forces after that specified day. Once that declaration is made, the Indian government should have the wisdom, the international community the opportunity, and the Indian people the will, to ensure a response in the spirit of reciprocity. If that is ensured we can go on to the next phase of balanced, gradual, disarmament to reach an agreed minimum capability of the armed forces of the two countries.

If that can be achieved, it would be far easier to resolve the disputes that happen to be a consequence, not the cause, of mutual fear and suspicion—a state of mind created and sustained by military build-up. Once the cause of fear is removed, disputes can be seen in their objective perspective and resolved without the suspicion regarding each other's intentions.

If India fails to respond to our unilateral action within a reasonable time-frame, we will have to withdraw the declaration, rejoin the race, and wait for whatever consequences the future has in store for us.

Referendum Suggested on Creation of New Provinces

92AS0375G Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 16 Nov 91 p 10

[Editorial: "More Provinces for Pakistan"]

[Text] In the aftermath of the Baloch-Pakhtoon conflict some of the public opinion leaders have again floated the idea of division of Balochistan on ethnic lines to preempt any future confrontation between the two. Mir Hasil Bizenjo MNA [member of National Assembly], a leader of PNP [Pakistan National Party], while rejecting the division of Balochistan and subsequent merger of Pakhtoon districts with the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] has reiterated the traditional position of erstwhile nationalists to redemarcate all the provinces on linguistic-cultural lines. If it applies to all the provinces then, he said, PNP will have no objection. On the other hand, all the Pakhtoon nationalist parties have been demanding the creation of a unified federative unit of Pakhtoon Khwa by unifying the Northern, Southern and tribal Pakhtoon belt. The demand for the redemarcation of the provinces on the linguistic-cultural basis and its outright rejection by Centristic is not new. If the champions of a strong centre have been dubbing the demands of autonomy and recognition of nationalities as 'anti-Pakistan', the ethnic nationalists, despite their articulation of various schemes of autonomisation, could not evolve a consensus among themselves on how to redemarcate the provinces. The emergence of ethnic nationalism has made it even more complicated. While Pakhtoons demand the accession of Pakhtoon areas of Balochistan to NWFP, they are not ready to concede the same right to other ethnic groups in their region. If Quetta will remain a bone of contention among the Baloch and Pakhtoons, the Baloch will not surrender some of their Sindhi-speaking area to Sindh. And Sindhis would neither accept the Baloch claim on Jacobabad nor the division of Sindh in any manner. The Punjab would resist the carving of a Seraiki province out of its present boundaries and along with the NWFP oppose the creation of the Potohar province, consisting of Rawalpindi and the Hazara division. But the most ironical aspect of the whole debate has been the self-contradictory stand taken by some of the strong centrists at different occasions. Without budging an inch from their entrenched viewpoint on an all powerful centre they have been proposing to create as many provinces as possible, only to counter the centrifugal tendencies.

In post-colonial Pakistan, despite political independence, the viceregal system of governance continued to serve the interests of an authoritarian state. A relatively 'over-developed' state apparatus not only assumed the role of an arbiter but, more than that, imposed its autocratic and dictatorial rule and stifled the process of democratisation. Consequently, devolution of power and its transfer to the grassroot level could not take place. The authoritarian forces concocted a hybrid state

ideology and used it to suppress every voice of democracy and autonomy, with the arbitrary misuse of state power. In such circumstances, the administrative units created by British, to suit their colonial design, were kept and only changed to impose the worst kind of autocratic structures. For instance, One Unit was created and the principle of parity was applied to bring down the majority of Bengalis at par with West Pakistan. The nationalists were not that inept, when they termed it the hegemonic machinations of the Punjabi-Mohajir axis against the interests of oppressed nationalities. The authoritarian path and suppression of the aspirations of autonomy led to the separation of East Pakistan and degradation of the democratic institutions in the rest of the country. Decentralisation of power is the paramount imperative of democracy and without assertion of civil society vis-a-vis state apparatus, garrison included, you cannot have undiluted democracy. Hence, maximum provincial autonomy and more powers to the local governments is quite essential for real democracy and participatory development in a socio-economically heterogeneous society. Redemarcation of the provinces and creation of more federating units on the basis of socially and geographically contiguous regions, without injuring the historic self-consciences of a people and sacrificing the legitimate interests of a region, will be in the best interest of the people of Pakistan and normal evolution of their politico-cultural personality. A referendum can very well express the will of the people to decide this thorny issue.

Changes in Urban Family Structure Viewed

92AS0380F Lahore *THE NATION* in English
(Supplement) 26 Nov 91 pp 7-8

[Article by Dr. Aquila Kiani: "The Urban Family in Transition"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] To speak of the urban family is to examine the effects of urbanisation and modernisation on the family system. According to a United Nations Report published recently in the DAWN, (Nov 7), the urban population of Pakistan is likely to increase by 40 percent by the year 2000 and 50 percent by 2010 A.D. The overall growth rate of our urban population is estimated to be 4.5 percent per annum as compared to the growth rate of rural population of 2.5 percent per annum. Such a fast growing population is attributed—partly to natural increase and partly to the constant migration of people from rural to urban areas for better economic prospects. Karachi bears the largest burden of such increase. Its population is reaching almost one tenth of the population of the entire country. The effects of the rapid urbanisation have made its imprint on the family structure.

Shrinking Family

The city growth is marked by rapidly increasing high-rise apartments, densely packed together. The plots of private residences are reduced from 2,000 and 1,000 sq. yards previously, to 400, 120 and even 80 sq yards now.

The ever-rising cost of living is compelling people to live in more economical dwellings. The limited space is just enough to sustain families in small units. Under pressure of the economic system, the extended family life style of yesteryears is giving way to conjugal lifestyle. The change in family size also occurs as the sons move away to set up their own households. The occupational diversity of young family members separates them spatially. They move away to places where economic opportunities are available in their fields of specialisations. Hereditary professions and skills survived well in an agricultural economy. The joint and extended family system also thrived in the rural environment. As the city expands, travelling distances between localities or city districts become greater and relatives living even in the same city can hardly meet often. Dependence on kin support and help becomes less and smaller family units grow more independent in decision-making, in the choice of career, in choosing a life partner and in adopting a lifestyle to suit their own tastes and likings.

Social analysts tend to assume that changes in economic and industrial systems are the primary cause of altercations in the family system. More divorces are likely to take place. In the urban environment, kinship ties are weakened and conjugal system, i.e., nuclear family as a more independent kinship unit emerges.

Living Patterns

Due to a rural-urban mix in our cities, one can still see traces of extended families. In fact, one is apt to observe many kinds of lifestyles of the urban family in a cosmopolitan city like Karachi. It is caused by the heterogeneity of population, consisting of ethnic and social class variations. As a matter of fact, Karachi is referred to as 'Mini-Pakistan' accommodating people from almost all regions of the country. They speak many different languages as well as dialects within their subcultural milieux. The Statistical Year Book of Pakistan (1990) lists at least eight languages spoken by a substantial number of people. It records 2.81 percent speaking other languages, which are unlisted. Despite the heterogeneous population of the city as well as variations of social class and ethnicity the general pattern of the urban family that emerges is that of a typical middle class family.

Keeping the characteristics of the urban middle class family in view, some generalisations of the impact of urbanisation on the family system can be inferred. The urban middle class family in our society is motivated by a desire to gain upward social mobility by attaining high education and high professional standing. It is the desire of almost every second or third family to get their sons and daughters enrolled in professional colleges, e.g., medical, engineering, business administration, commerce and other technical professions. In other words, attaining skills and education by dint of merit is an important aim in the life of middle class family. Some well-to-do parents also aspire to send their children abroad for higher technical education to make their children's future brighter and more secure. They cherish

moral and religious values and want their children to hold such values too. Nevertheless they crave for modern style of living and strive to achieve it to enjoy all the comforts of life that modern technology has to offer. They seem to be rational in their outlook and do not want to discard good traditions yet favour change for the better. This is an interplay of continuity and change is manifest in their lifestyle.

Women's Employment

The married or unmarried women from the middle class families would not hesitate to enter professions for the attainment of which they have invested many years in education and training. Middle class women usually take up jobs as education for them has been an investment. They also wish to better their standards of living, including better education for their children. Under such circumstances, the parents have to relegate their functions of transmission of culture and other processes of socialisation, e.g., education and training, including teaching manners and social conduct etc., to other institutions, mostly the school, the college, the recreational centres, some functionary of the mosque and other cultural and social organisations. The fast growth of Nursery schools and Day Care Centres is to a large extent meeting the needs of the working mothers.

Role of Elders

The role of grandparents and other elderly relatives, e.g., uncles, aunts, etc., as transmitters of cultural and moral values and noble ideas has considerably diminished. It is a sociological fact that the elderly lose power and status when society is industrialised and modernised. The Western economic system (based on exchange of goods) brought in its wake Western cultural values through rapid system of transportation and communication through the T.V., the radio and printed media, such as journals, magazines, etc. The children of today are more demanding of material comforts of life and entertainment materials. They like to imitate Western fashions in garments, love to listen to Western music and participate in other forms of entertainment which are West oriented. Coupled with this is the growing economic independence of the younger people as a contributory factor producing significant intergenerational gap between the aging parent, aged grandparents and the younger generation. The quality of relationship between generations is on the decline. The attitude of grandchildren towards their older relatives is of indifference or even disrespect. One may often hear remarks, about the older relatives, such as 'fashioned', 'senile', 'authoritarian', etc., so their company is shunned. The aging grandparents and other elderly relatives suffer due to such low quality of relationship. Their physical, emotional and psychological needs remain unfulfilled. Being victims of loneliness, indifference and neglect, the elderly of today are in need of other support systems in their struggle for survival. Some of the educated retired persons are forming into senior citizens groups and associations to maintain their identity. The futurists and planners in the west have now

well realised the functional role of elderly people in the process of socialisation of grandchildren and are highlighting their role in inculcating moral values and transmitting good traditions among the younger generation.

Lack of Control

The parents lack of control due mostly to their preoccupation with work and influence of distorted values of children's independence, is leading to acts of undisciplined freedom.

Under an atmosphere of violence, terrorism (where majority is forced to cooperate with a handful of terrorists), ethnocentricism, drug Mafia, favouritism, nepotism, unemployment and inequitable distribution of wealth, the urban family's role seems to be pushed into oblivion. The policy makers are still living in their whimsical world and believe that terrorism and vandalism among the younger generation can be checked through parental control and cooperation, realising little that the situation has reached to an impasse, out of the hands of parents. The family stands on shaky grounds.

The modern youth wants an easy way to get through exams, quite unlike the parent of the past who made his way through higher education by dint of merit. The fact is that the modern youth is trapped in the politics of violence and greed for power. Education has been politicised. The youths from colleges and universities are fighting the battles of politicians through students' wings of political parties. Society has been ethnicised. The students have their ethnic organisations, the aims of which are to exist as rival groups, to kill and be killed for their own narrow parochial prides. All acts of violent behaviour are legitimised by them as their right to disagree and to gain freedom from legitimate authority and parental control. They have not acquired the discipline to settle their differences of opinion in a rational manner. Education has not developed in them the 'Ability to Think'. That may account for the reason that they can be so easily exploited by those who have vested interests in winning power and pelf.

The right-minded young colleagues among them are beginning to question the legitimacy of such acts in which the force of 'kalashnikov' is used under the name of 'Right to participate in politics' or to fight the battle of so-called 'freedom and democracy'.

The high-rise buildings may induce to live economically, but they produce anonymity, impersonality and leads to alienation among the people. People live in densely packed apartments, not knowing who the next door neighbour is. In many other areas of the world, where urbanisation preceded Pakistan, such living style has given rise to high rate of crime. We cannot close our eyes to such a phenomena. Our planners are paying little attention to the planning of parks and youth recreational centres. On the other hand, whatever planning has been made has been diverted to the use of such land for the building of apartments and more apartments, depriving the children from recreational facilities.

Looking at the positive side of living in a city, one can see many advantages that urban life offers. The physical amenities, e.g., water supply, electricity, roads, transportation and communication facilities, the presence of higher institutions of learning and technical training are conducive to personality development of the young.

As more and more women are entering higher institutions of learning and taking up jobs which have been traditionally men's domain, they are gradually being accepted on equal footing by the more enlightened class. Further women's organisations working for the uplift of downtrodden women have created awareness among the various sections of women of their rights to participate in improving their conditions and of their families, both through economic and social activities. The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, specifically stated 'there will be no discrimination on the basis of sex', opened the doors for full participation of women and their employment in fields which previously remained forbidden to them. The Commission on the Status of Women has gradually led to the creation of a Ministry for Women. Apart from such governmental support, women by their own calibre and academic achievements have created a place for themselves in society. Now the NGOs [nongovernmental organizations] are extending this work to improve the conditions of rural women. The high maternal mortality and infant mortality rates among village women particularly, is alarming enough to carry welfare work by women's organisations in the remote rural regions through outreach programmes in education, health and for eradicating poverty through income generating activities.

Women have been oppressed, humiliated and tyrannised for long and the work of organisations, like APWA [expansion not given], Pakistan Women, Lawyers' Association, Women's Action Forum, War Against Rape, Business and Professional Women's Club is creating awareness among the people that without raising the status of women and bringing dignity to them, the younger generations cannot be well brought up.

The family is an enduring institution and the salvation of the future society lies in strengthening it. It is time that the parents, the social welfare organisations, the school system and other social and cultural centres should coordinate their efforts to save the future generation from the unhealthy trends and prepare the future architects of our nation for the worthy role of leadership. It is an honest and incorrupt leadership which alone can steer the nation to the path of peace, prosperity and progress.

Continued Attacks on Press Seen Threat to Democracy

Sharif Administration Uncaring

92AS0381A Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 22 Nov 91 p 12

[Article by Anwar Abbas: "Where It Hurts Most"; italicized words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] The print media in Pakistan has functioned under the most hostile regimes. The history of journalism in the country is full of incidents which range from the simple and straightforward, like closure of periodicals and sacking of editors like Mian Iftikharuddin, Sibte Hasan, Mazhar Ali Khan and Nadeem Qasmi, to the gory, like the whip-lashing of Khawar Naeem, Nasir Zaidi and Iqbal Jaffrey in 1978.

What started as a mere takeover of the print media and the issuance of the obnoxious Press and Publication Ordinance in Ayub Khan's rule, culminated in more severe treatment of pressmen and women at various times. It goes to the credit of these brave souls that they continued to uphold the flame of freedom, as evinced in a "Syndicate" editorial written about forty years ago.

Some of the more contemporary targets of the persecution that come to mind immediately are Minhaj Barna, S.G.M. Badruddin, Mehmood Sham, Mujahid Brelvi, Zamir Niazi (author of *Press in Chains*) among the writers and *Urdu Digest*, *Viewpoint*, *Mayaar*, *Al-Fatah*, and *Massawat* among the publications. They have been victims of official onslaught, particularly during the rules of men in uniform. But none of them in any age, barring a few, "bent their knees before insolent might."

But what the fourth estate is facing now under a civilian and democratic government surpasses anything that has happened in the past. The manner in which Zafar Abbas, Raees Kamal, Ishaq Mangrio, Kamran Khan, Nafisa Hoodhoy, Mushtaq Suhail, and Shabbir Bhutto have been treated and the government's apathy towards if not active involvement; their harassment and physical assault and attacks on their newspaper offices, are not only symptomatic of the brutalised times in which we live but also reminiscent of fascist regimes of the worst kind.

Reminds one, for its contrasting style, of the treatment of Arun Shourie, editor of India's largest circulated paper, the *INDIAN EXPRESS*. The late Goenka once described Shourie as "my race horse," but whenever he wanted to make up with the authorities he would sack Shourie temporarily with the words, "your break-neck speed will break down my tonga!"

A former executive of the World Bank posted in New York on a handsome salary, Shourie, was not initially interested in writing or journalism. But one fine day, realising that there is more to life than lucre and luxury, he packed his bags and returned to India with his wife and only child. So began a story of unsurpassed journalistic success in present day India.

As executive editor and later editor of the *INDIAN EXPRESS*, Shourie exposed the happenings in Bhagalpur prison where the police blinded dacoits and other prisoners by pouring lead into their eyes. His exposure of bride-buying in Rajasthan, using one of his junior reporters as the bride-groom on a "shopping

spree" for a 'dulhan' inspired on Indian film-maker to make a full-length feature film based on the newspaper story.

He was instrumental in bringing down the government of A.R. Antulay of Maharashtra who blatantly received bribes against cement and other quotas; the act of accepting the "bribe" was flashed across the nation's television screen, under the garb of dubious and unapproved trusts. His investigative reports and editorials were quoted extensively in the Indian parliament, much to the embarrassment of Indira Gandhi's government.

Shourie's tirade against the government inspired the Philippines to award him the Ramon Magsaysay award if only to send strong, and indirect, feelers to their then president, Ferdinand Marcos.

Back home in India, Arun Shourie became a legendary figure among the masses who read his despatches with considerable interest, even when they disagreed with him. The government of Indira Gandhi and later Rajiv Gandhi, the main target of the Bofors scandal, feared him more than political adversaries while the opposition relished his onslaught on the administration.

One afternoon, while going for lunch with Shourie from his office on Bahadurshah Zafar Marg, Delhi's Fleet Street, to a restaurant in Daryagunj in his rickety Fiat which he was driving, I saw a police car following us.

"We are being followed by the police," I told him nervously.

"Oh, that?" replied Shourie looking at his rearview mirror. "That is the police car commissioned to protect me." He also told me that Mrs. Gandhi's government had posted security for him at the office and the house.

"Why?" I asked incredulously, knowing his bias against the lady.

"Mrs. Gandhi fears that if someone pumps lead into my head, people may suspect that it was done at her behest. She is protecting me to protect herself."

Whether it was cower or civility on the part of the Indian administration, the fact remains that a vociferous and forthright journalist was being given protection by the government in power. It was not just an empty promise of press freedom and protection to its members. It was protection of freedom in action and in full glory.

Now we are all aware that what hurts an Indian more than anything else is being compared to Pakistan or anything Pakistani. And vice versa. Therefore, what may hurt the administration and the law enforcing agencies is not the pain that Kamran Khan suffered in his ribs on being stabbed or the agony of the burnt cigarette butts with which Shabbir Bhutto was tortured, the bashing and wanton destruction of property in Zafar Abbas' house; not even the fear psychosis suffered by Nafisa Hoodhoy.

What will really hurt the administration most is being compared with the act of giving protection to a journalist, however isolated and singular, taken across the border.

Institutional Support Lacking

92AS0381B Lahore *THE NATION* in English
18 Nov 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Press Freedom"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Reaffirming his government's commitment to freedom of the Press, the Prime Minister, who was talking to a CPNE [Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors] delegation has vowed to take effective steps to curb violence against the Press and provide protection to newspapers and newsmen in the country. The Prime Minister must have been thoroughly briefed by the newspaper editors about the state of the Press, the problems and tensions it has to reckon with and the heavy price it has to pay to sustain its freedom in a climate of fear and violence. And he must have been told that, notwithstanding repeated promises of firm action against the culprits, the apostles of violence have not only got away scot-free, but also persisted in 'bullying and blackmail' tactics to cow down the spirit of resistance in the country's independent Press. While the Prime Minister's taking cognisance of the threat of violence to the Press is reassuring, there would still be many a slips between the cup and the lips before it could find expression in the government's actual practice. Law and order happens to be an area of provincial jurisdiction, and the provincial governments, prompted by the exigencies of power-politics, have been oblivious of their responsibility towards creating an environment congenial for free flow of information and free expression. It may, therefore, be appropriate to ask the provincial governments to sign a charter of Press freedom as a token of recognition of the problem and their commitment to help resolve it on priority basis.

The Prime Minister, while urging the newspaper editors to help evolve a working relationship with the government, which he said was necessary to achieve the 'common goal of strengthening democracy and social justice,' had also referred to the imperative of having a 'responsible Press.' Notwithstanding the historical reality that the national Press which has always upheld democratic ideals, has by and large been constructive in its criticism and extremely prudent in commenting on issues of national interest, there may have been odd cases of indiscretion or overdoing by some overzealous Pressmen. Nevertheless, the mainstream of the national Press is on record having made a clear distinction between 'freedom' and 'licence' and has never asked for a no-holds-barred licence to attack all the sundry. It is, however, also imperative that the government shows a high tolerance level, is willing to take criticism as a manifestation of genuine dissent and not as an attempt at subversion, and does not use its prerogatives, such as

ads and newsprint quotas, selectively and as a lever to force the dissidents to fall in line. All said and done, what is required is to institutionalise freedom of the Press and not leave it at the mercy of the whims of every incoming government.

Journalists Face Continued Threats

92AS0381C Karachi *DAWN* in English 30 Nov 91 p 11

[Article by Akbar Hussein: "Journalism Now a High-Risk Profession"]

[Text] In a recent Senate debate on the spate of attacks on journalist over the past year, the Interior Minister assured Senators that those responsible for this concerted and sustained assault on Press freedom would be punished.

My advice to colleagues is not to hold their breath waiting for Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain to deliver on his promise, as so far 78 documented cases of physical attacks and verbal threats aimed at the Fourth Estate have taken place over the last year without a single culprit being arrested. Not surprisingly, the hollowness of the minister's pledge was not further questioned or criticised on the floor of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance]-dominated Senate.

Intriguingly, the Interior Minister then went on to lay the blame for the current onslaught on the Press at the door of the previous government. According to him, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government was responsible for initiating attacks on journalists. This was a revelation because so far, we had thought that this was one area in which Benazir Bhutto had earned high marks by removing the odious requirement of NOCs [No Objection Certificate?] for journalists going abroad; by lifting the iniquitous system of newsprint quotas; and by streamlining the restrictive, colonial procedure of getting declarations for new publications.

Although she paid a very high price for her liberal Press policies, the ex-PM [Prime Minister] has never regretted them in public. So to be told by Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain that, actually, she and her party are responsible for the ongoing attempt to cow down the Press is asking us to suspend our disbelief.

When journalists are stabbed, beaten and threatened, when newspaper offices are smashed up, and when the police arrest and torture a reporter, an atmosphere of fear is created which attempts to stifle criticism of the ruling coalition. For instance, it is now nearly two months since Kamran Khan was stabbed outside the office of THE NEWS in broad daylight after writing a series of investigative reports about the CIA. Since that day, his byline has not appeared in his paper.

The list of such episodes is long and depressing; but what is even more demoralising is the complete lack of concern demonstrated by the federal and provincial governments. Apart from the proforma words of sympathy and

the bouquet of flowers delivered at the hospital room of the latest victim, no action is ever taken, no FIR [First Information Report] is registered, and the enquiry committees set up by the authorities now do not even bother going through the motions.

The Press, too, has become hardened to these attacks and reacts with ritual editorials and routine condemnations by the CPNE [Council of Pakistan Newspapers Editors] and PFUJ [Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists]. Everybody goes through the motions as the victim recovers—if he is lucky—and then it is business as usual until the next attack.

What is new, however, is the apparent involvement of official agencies in these attacks. When the monthly HERALD did a cover story on the CIA in October, the police outfits's rejoinder was not limited to a letter to the editor or a legal notice. Hawkers were beaten up and their copies of the magazine snatched by hefty characters in plainclothes and the stocks of booksellers were bought up. Characteristically and courageously, the editor whipped up two fresh print runs to meet the demand, understandably whetted by these much-publicised incidents.

A clue to the identity of the thugs responsible for this outrage lies in the fact that they went about their business without worrying about any police action. Similarly, when the correspondent of THE FRONTIER POST, was arrested by the police in Sukkur and allegedly tortured for three days before being released, his assailants did not even bother to conceal their identity because they were confident in the knowledge that they would not be touched.

Until recently, such outrages were confined to Sindh where they were committed with impunity by component members of the ruling coalition and their henchmen. But when intolerant people in positions of power—a breed in no danger of extinction—see that their counterparts in Sindh are literally getting away with murder, there is a natural tendency for them to ape these strong-arm tactics on their own turf against their perceived enemies in the Press. So when the editor of FACTS INTERNATIONAL gets beaten up in Islamabad, or the editor of THE FRIDAY TIMES is threatened, we should be appalled, but not surprised.

Our current rulers saw nothing wrong with any of the publications named above when they were running investigative stories aimed at uncovering the misdeeds of the previous government. Indeed, their media mafia took great pains to circulate these reports among foreign journalists and diplomats in their destabilising drive. But now that this same crusading section of the Press is digging up dirt on the IJI government and its allies, their latest intolerance has surfaced together with complete indifference to concepts like democratic traditions, the freedom of the Press and the rule of law.

To its great and abiding credit, the Press has not buckled under the unrelenting pressure it is facing. Even measures like withdrawing government ads from newspapers deemed hostile to the present dispensation have not produced the desired results. The Prime Minister has recently threatened to enact a new law aimed at punishing those criticising his person and his office. This will be an interesting and possibly unique piece of legislation, and one I await with baited breath.

To anybody familiar with the style of governance of the IJI crowd, the source of their power and their philosophy—if this word can be used to describe their outlook—their intolerance would be perfectly understandable, if not excusable. Indeed, our political culture has become so polarised that in the eyes of our rulers, anybody who dares examine their performance objectively must be their enemy.

In such an environment, journalism is obviously a high-risk profession. But what was truly sad was to see somebody like Imran Khan—with his vast experience of the kind of vicious criticism printed in the British Press—succumbing to this atmosphere and lashing out at his critics here. If people like him can be so intolerant of the lighthearted irreverence of Anwar Maqsood, how can we expect much better from government functionaries?

MQM Attacks Free Press

92AS0381D Karachi DAWN in English 26 Nov 91 p 4

[Article: "MQM [Muhajir Quami Movement] on the Country's English-Language Press"—first paragraph is DAWN introduction; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The following article, under the headline "Vagaries of our free press," apparently written by Mr. Abu Ahmad Shah, Special Assistant to Chief Minister, Sindh, was sent to us by Mr. Amin Ul Haq, Information Secretary, Mohajir Quami Movement [MQM], along with the following covering letter dated 21-11-1991: "A lot is being said/written for the freedom of press on various forums and levels. We are presenting our point of view regarding the role of press in our politics and building of our political culture and deterioration of our political society in the enclosed article. We hope that our view point will be fully covered to gauge the freedom of press and be published in your paper/magazine in full." Accordingly, we are publishing Mr. Abu Ahmad Shah's article in full, without making any change in it.—Editor, DAWN.

"Just as the Western Press is always found to be writing against the Third World and specially Islamic countries, our contemporary English Press has adopted the same attitude towards the present democratic Governments at center & in Sindh. As to the Western Press it may be understood that they are filled with the venom of ill-feelings of the days of Crusade, but we fail to understand as to why our English-language journalists are bent upon discrediting the present Government. They do not leave

any opportunity to deride the Government on the slightest pretext. Even on good points they generally add a few sentences to belittle the favourable effects. They will coax and hunt out spent up leaders, even those with the least following, to obtain anti-Government statements and declarations that Martial law is being promulgated or that Governor's rule is shortly coming in Sindh. In this way they are confounding the public, confusing foreign readers of our newspapers and bewildering foreign diplomats. They are also causing depression in stock exchange, discouraging would be foreign investors and also disheartening our aid/loan giving agencies.

"Freedom of press means search for truth. Our journalist friends may be reminded that circulation of unconfirmed rumours is a disservice to Free Press and the nation at large. It is our Prophet's (PBUH) saying that whoever passes on any unsubstantiated rumour commits sin. If our journalist friends think that by acting on the dictates of the opposition or through rumour mafia they will bring about any change in the democratic government of the land, a government which has the support of more than 75 percent in the National Assembly and has a definite majority in Sindh, they are living in a paradise of their own making. In spite of their raising storms in "Tea Cups" not to speak of dislodgement, this government is winning by-elections after by-elections. They must know that falsehoods will falter and statements of unimportant leaders cannot make any dent in the political structure of the land.

"Our Free Press has not the courage to hear any thing against themselves. They boycott the speeches of MQM, MNA's [Members of National Assembly] who would lay bare the vagaries of our free press. They will generally censor articles which criticise our Pressmen. They will also not publish articles or news whereby they think that their personal interest may be harmed.

"I take this opportunity to quote the FRONTIER POST of 01-11-91, at page '6' "Oct. 31, District Bar Association, Khanewal has unanimously passed a number of resolutions and declared that D.C. Khanewal Mr. Akhlaq Ahmad Tarrar is totally incapable and all local journalists are corrupt and irresponsible. The members of the District Bar Association also burnt the copies of newspaper." It may also be enumerated that last year a businessman penned an article as to how to double government's revenue from customs after plugging the loopholes of kickbacks. This article was not published by any paper as our brave journalists/owners-of-papers were afraid to antagonise custom officers. Thus they allow personal interest to supersede national interest. Only two months back the undersigned authored an article showing the Caprices of our so called Free Press. This was censored by most of the papers.

"I may also refer to a news in a box by "Takbeer" dated 7-11-91 at page 14.

"A provincial minister was lying on bed for about 3 weeks. This can be confirmed by anybody in Hyderabad.

But "Takbeer" has made a mountain of insinuations of a mole hill, highly provocative and unbecoming of a prestigious weekly. Now he has joined. [as published]

"The Election Commissioner, Justice (retd) Naeemuddin has refuted that he was under any pressure by the government or the President but cartoons have been published showing the Justice having said so. What a freedom? More examples may be added showing how our journalist friends are misusing their power under the umbrella of Free Press. If they have the right to give wide coverage of the statements of the opposition or unimportant leaders or circulating with, bold headlines, unconfirmed rumours or refuse to publish news/articles which they deem to be against their personal interest what right they have got to cry when the Government refuse to give them their advertisements.

"Our English Press is free to blindly follow foreign journalists. Whenever there is a Hindu Muslim riot in India the free Indian journalist always put all the blame on Muslims for initiating the riots. If there is any Hindu procession the Muslims will invariably be projected as throwing brickbats on the procession, and if there is a Muslim procession, always the processionists will be shown as starting the looting & scorching. It is well known that Muslims are a weak minority in India. They will initiate any riot is unimaginable. But our free press will recklessly repeat the Indian version. What a freedom?

"At present the Jewish controlled Western press is pillorying president Bush because he is pressing Israel to come to terms with the Arabs/Palestinians. Under the garb of investigative journalism they are making some myths: One such is that arms were supplied illegally to Iran (by Reagan whose V.P. was Bush) through Pakistan under the supervision of an Israeli. This is being done to influence the presidential election of 1992 in U.S.A. Some of our English press is blindly publishing such articles without any regard that President Bush is at present supporting Palestinians, our brothers.

"Most of our English-language journalists take pride that they are progressives (leftists) and in this sense they deem themselves free to criticise and sometimes belittle the commandments of God. There is a clear order in the Holy Quran that in certain cases of heinous crimes/sins there should be public flogging or execution. This punishment is described by our journalists as medieval and out of date, alluding the same to be savage. In this connection there are two aspects of the problem. Firstly any person professing Islam has no right to ridicule the orders of God. If he is conscientious he must primarily renounce Islam (and become a murtid whose punishment is death) and then he would be free to criticise the tenets of Islam. Secondly Pakistan is an Islamic country. In the name of freedom of expression nobody should feel himself free to lampoon the cannons of Islam. If our journalist friends do so, is it not a misuse of freedom?

Can anybody in China dare to deride the dogmas of communism? The fellow may end his life in a psychiatric cell.

"Knowledgeable circles fail to understand why a code of conduct for pressmen has not been framed in Pakistan, and why a forum consisting of H.C/S.C [High Court/Supreme Court] Judges has not been formed to bind the pressmen to remain within the code; so that the journalists could also know their limitations by adhering thereto they will not be under the stress of any government strictures or of political/religious parties'/groups' threats or gheraos or boycotts or thrashing by actresses or naked parading on thoroughfares at the orders of any wadera."

Illiterate Said To Lack Incentives for Learning

92AS0380E Lahore *THE NATION* in English
30 Nov 91 p 4

[Editorial: "Concern for Literacy"]

[Text] The Prime Minister's concern for the low rate of literacy in the country, even though the figure of 31 percent he has mentioned is over-optimistic, is well placed. He hopes to change that. So does his Education Minister, who said only recently that he will raise this figure to 70 percent by the year 2000. He is currently engaged in hammering out a new education policy. The assumption being that the education policies prepared so far, and those have been quite a few by successive governments, have failed. Looking at the present level of education in general and literacy rate in particular, it may well be true, except for the fact that more often than not, the failure lay in implementation of those policies, rather than in their concept. To that extent any future policy, howsoever brilliant it may be, would fail. Policies left to the whims of the budget-makers and the incompetence of the agencies looking after them, usually fail. The first problem of course is that all such policies are made at the Centre, while their implementation is totally in the hands of the provinces. The provinces working at their own level of commitment to that policy and moving under their own constraints of priorities, are not necessarily in step with the Centre. If the provinces were to realise the importance of this vital sector of manpower development, Central planning may not even be necessary. Central planning is actually accepted by the provinces for the wrong reasons. One of the reasons is that the Centre can be asked to supply the funds. Iqra surcharge is a notorious example of that. Why should the Centre be expected to impose taxes for subjects which are not even within its jurisdiction? And when it does impose taxes, why is it not considered accountable to the provinces for them?

On the face of it the issue of literacy is simple enough. There being about forty thousand villages in the country—which really depress the literacy rate—all one has to do is to set up eighty thousand schools, one each for boys and girls in every village, and sit back and wait for four years to have all the new input of young children literate.

In practice the task is far more complex. To begin with, even if 30 percent of our population is literate, what happens to the 70 percent of the illiterates? All adult literacy schemes have so far failed. Secondly, what is going to prevent the so-called new literates to revert back to illiteracy, particularly when they find little difference between their income level, and living standards and those of their illiterate compatriots. Obviously a linkage between education and better employment or if not that, with any kind of reward such as a better quality of life, has to be found. It has not yet been found. So what is the incentive for the poor, who constitute the bulk of the illiterates, to acquire literacy?

Expansion of Criminal Investigative Agency Imminent

92AS0375H Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 16 Nov 91 p 1

[Text] Karachi (PPI)—Induction of female staff in CIA [Crime Investigation Agency] Sindh is under consideration to take over duties of interrogation and investigation of female accused.

DIG [Deputy Inspector General] CIA Samiullah Khan Marwat told PPI in an interview on Friday that lady staff would constitute a special interrogation cell where female accused apprehended in different crimes would be interrogated.

At present CIA was working with the strength of 900 personnel which would be increased to 2,400 gradually by directly recruiting persons and training them on scientific basis so that they could meet the professional requirements of working.

In the first phase 500 persons were being recruited in CIA. About 350 graduate and post-graduate persons have applied for post of constables. They will be recruited after character and document verification, DIG added.

He said "We would encourage educated youth to join CIA as they were most required for effective prevention of crime. They would also be capable of working in police department besides CIA as they would be trained from same academy," he added.

About performance of CIA Marwat said that CIA arrested 41 terrorists during last 10 months, these terrorists included foreign trained people who were operating in the province for subversive and anti-state activities.

He strongly dispelled the impression that CIA was being used by the government for political victimisation and said they had apprehended culprits without discrimination with concrete evidence against them. "It is only that their affiliation with any political or terrorist organisation was revealed during interrogation."

He further said that there was no pressure from government upon CIA regarding the arrest of any person and all those arrested were challenged in the court at the earliest.

Since June this year when the post of DIG CIA was created, all the matters concerning CIA Karachi including administration was being dealt with by the DIG CIA, who upon his own initiative could direct CIA staff to deal with a crime instead of going through time taking formalities which were a major hurdle in the performance of CIA functioning.

According to new set up, CIA headed by DIG comprises of four wings, each functioning under separate superintendent of police.

1. Anti-vehicle snatching/lifting (CIA wing-1);
2. Anti-kidnapping for ransom (CIA wing-2);
3. Anti-robbery/dacoity/burglary (CIA wing-3);
4. Anti-terrorist/narcotics/vice dens and other heinous crimes (CIA wing-4).

Samiullah Khan further said that under direct supervision of IGP [Inspector General of Police] police, Sindh CIA has become more functional and all the efficient police officials were provided to CIA without any delay upon the request of DIG CIA. This has enabled it to solve 948 pending cases transferred during the last 10 months, he added.

Further elaborating the performance of CIA since the creation of the post of DIG CIA, he said that 34 organised criminal gangs were busted by CIA besides recovering property worth more than Rs.[rupees]80 million. A total of 1,004 persons were arrested involved in different crimes by CIA during the last 10 months, he added.

The agency also recovered a total of 491 arms which included 58 Kalashnikovs, five sten guns, 40 rifles, 20 shot guns, 173 pistols, 50 revolvers, 19 hand grenades and 36 mortar shells in different incidents during the same period besides recovering three kilograms heroin, 28 kilograms charas, 1,935 bottles of wine and 250 kilograms of opium.

Cases of Torture, Rape Detailed

92AS0380G Karachi DAWN in English 20 Nov 91 p 13

[Article by Nafisa Hoodbhoy: "Amnesty Lists Torture Cases"]

[Text] Karachi, Nov 19—The 1991 report on Pakistan released by Amnesty International purports to document the cases of 50 people allegedly tortured to death in police custody since 1989. Those responsible for torture have rarely been brought to justice, the human rights group claimed.

Apart from documenting the 50 deaths occurring in the custody, of police and law enforcement agencies, Amnesty has selected individual cases to provide an illustration of the use of torture to extract information and confessions from criminal and political suspects.

While all those who have died of alleged torture in custody have been men, Amnesty has found that women and children have joined the ranks of victims of police torture. One case highlighted in detail by Amnesty concerns Rahila Tiwana, a member of the People's Students Federation [PSF], who was arrested for "illegal possession of arms and involvement in a murder case," along with her father and brother when the Sindh Government was cracking down on political opponents during December, 1990 and January, 1991 "under the cover of a campaign against crime in the Sindh province."

The Amnesty report observes that the medical examination of Ms Tiwana gives evidence of the injuries on her body, despite the fact that it was carried out three weeks after the alleged torture. Her upper limb was found somewhat paralysed, the two bones of the forearm at the wrist partially dislocated and her ankle sprained.

While the PSF activist's case implicates the present Sindh government, Amnesty cites reports it received in 1990 from the MQM [Mujahir Qami Movement] and other political groups that their members were being tortured under the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government. One MQM worker arrested on May 23, 1990 for involvement in the communal violence in Hyderabad, related that during interrogation for the sources from which the MQM bought arms, he was stripped naked, beaten with a leather strap and kept without food for more than three days at a time. He was eventually presented before a magistrate for remand on the intervention of some lawyers.

"Apart from the police, several other law enforcement agencies have been accused of torturing people," claims Amnesty. It refers to the case of Abdul Rehman Tehbo, a student of Engineering who was arrested in January 1990 for illegal possession of arms. He was reportedly stripped naked, lashed and beaten on the soles of his feet and elsewhere and administered electric shocks to his genitals "by members of the Pakistan Rangers, a paramilitary group under Federal government control in Karachi."

Expressing concern at "regular reports of torture, including rape of women in custody," Amnesty has drawn attention to the fact that since the onus of proof is on the rape victim, this has inhibited women from reporting the crime. It has been able to document the cases of only eight women who have been subjected to humiliating treatment at police stations across the country and raped "to degrade them as women."

One of the most glaring women's rights violations occurred in July, 1989 when two women were reportedly beaten with leather thongs in Mandi Bahauddin Saddar Police Station in Punjab and ordered to run around the station verandah eight times. If they slowed down, they were pushed and slapped. They were then reportedly taken to the record room, stripped naked and raped by six or seven police officers. The medical report,

according to Amnesty, found "there was undeniable evidence of assault, sexual cruelty and repeated rape."

Part 11 of Amnesty's document of deaths due to torture in custody informs that it has received substantive information on a total of 39 cases, 25 of which are from Punjab and 14 from Sindh. Medical certificates obtained in their cases have illustrated "a persistent pattern" which showed that the death occurred due to torture.

Amnesty has highlighted another pattern of "staged" killings—also known as "encounter killings" between police and alleged or real criminals in which it has noted that "it is impossible to verify the circumstances in which the killings occurred." Quoting a relatively well documented case of Rais Ahmed alias Kalia, a PSF member killed in a "shoot-out" on July 3-4, 1990 in Lahore, Amnesty has quoted the family's contesting of the police version in the case. "They (relatives) say the police took him (Rias Ahmed) to a room in the basement of Ichchra police station, tortured him and only then

took him to the place where the police said he was killed in a shoot-out." Here, relatives alleged that he was "shot in cold blood."

In the 50 deaths listed in custody allegedly due to torture, Amnesty has called on the Pakistan authorities to take note of the "persistent pattern" so as to order full and impartial investigations into each case, and to set up an effective mechanism for the prompt and independent investigation of future cases as they occur."

Amnesty International has stated that in its memorandum to the PPP government in May 1990 it had recommended that torture be introduced in criminal law as a specific offence "making the attempt to commit torture and complicity or participation in torture criminal offences." It has stated that when the new government headed by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif took office in Nov. 1990, it wrote to him expressing hope that the new government would take all possible steps to protect human rights, including the prevention of torture. Amnesty has been received any reply to this letter. [as published]

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